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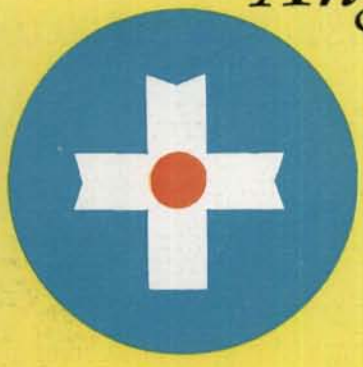
A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

Freedom or Virtue?

L. BRENT BOZELL

Angola: Terrorists on the Run

RONALD WARING



Lolita Revisited

FRANCIS RUSSELL

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · WILLIAM A. RUSHER
M. STANTON EVANS · THOMAS MOLNAR · ANTHONY LEJEUNE
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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

→we publish a brilliant and heuristic essay by **L. Brent Bozell** which will curl the hair of many libertarian conservatives. (It is not, at this writing, known whether Frank Meyer will ever recover.) The essay is strictly for those interested in the structure of conservative thought, and it is likely the debate it will kick off will not subside for years to come. . . . Please limit your comments to ten words or less: Mr. Bozell's coadjutors have already pre-empted the rebuttal, and Mr. Meyer is even at this moment oiling his Big Bertha, to fire away at his close friend and colleague. The question? Is freedom the necessary and sufficient condition of virtue. . . . **Ronald Waring** is an Irishman who lives in Portugal and has traveled extensively in Angola, and elsewhere in Africa, writing and lecturing widely. He takes head-on the Terror-Struck Angola of the myth-makers.

→ **Cato,** who by the way will be 2,111 years old next week, writes about the role of super-Liberal John Lindsay (R., N.Y.) in tying up essential internal security legislation, and about the quandaries the McClellan Committee is facing in its investigation of George Humphrey. . . . **William Buckley** discusses the dispute between *America* Magazine and representatives of Jewish organizations, in connection with the Supreme Court's wall between schoolchildren and God. (Up until now, the *New York Times* always referred to *America* as the National Catholic Weekly. *This* week it was identified as "a journal edited by Jesuits.") . . . **Thomas Molnar** has been in France for several weeks in the course of a European trip and writes confirming the impressions of George Pepper [July 31], that the Caesarization of France continues at an alarming rate. . . . **Anthony Lejeune** describes the shock in England following Macmillan's Massacre. If he brings it off, he'll be the most successful politician since Disraeli. If not—if not, he'll be simply a political bounder. . . . **Russell Kirk** tells you What You Can Do to improve the textbooks on which your children are being miseducated. . . . And **James Burnham** reveals the contents of a secret memorandum issued a few months ago by Ahmed Ben Bella explaining the direction in which he intends to take the Algerian Revolution and possibly the rest of what was formerly French North Africa.

→ **M. Stanton Evans** is enthusiastic about a new book on the Cold War by William Kintner and Joseph Z. Kornfeder. . . . Professor **Vincent Miller** of Wofford College reviews four interesting novelists, and discusses the high art of civilization. . . . **William A. Rusher** reviews the remarkable new book on Sacco-Vanzetti, which has been five years in the making, by **Francis Russell**—who reviews the film *Lolita*, explaining what Nabokov learned from Petronius, and what Petronius might have learned from Nabokov. A stand-off, by and large →

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AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE ABOUT THE CONTINUING CAMPAIGN TO ADMIT RED CHINA'S OUTLAW REGIME TO THE UNITED NATIONS

■ The 17th session of the United Nations General Assembly will convene on September 18, 1962. The opening of the session means that, once again, a crucial hour has come in the continuing campaign to force Red China's admission to the UN. This fall, the same familiar list of nations and individuals will try to get this outlaw regime **in**, and to **expel** our staunch anti-Communist ally, Nationalist China.

■ Even though the Peiping regime is an avowed enemy of the United States, it is a sad fact that much of the pressure for Red China's entry will come from Americans—including many ordinary citizens who will support the cause of our enemies out of sheer ignorance of the facts.

■ The American people should be made fully aware of this shameful and tragic contradiction!

■ Within recent months, the infamous pro-appeasment foreign policy recommendations of Professor W. W. Rostow, one of President Kennedy's closest advisors, have been made public. These recommendations include advocacy of Red China's admission to the UN, **and its recognition by the United States.** The widow of former President Franklin D. Roosevelt and her colleagues in the American Association for the United Nations have proposed similar steps in a widely-publicized report.

■ Although many Americans feel that the UN has become a dangerous institution which should no longer receive the support of the United States, the fact remains that the UN would be a **far greater danger** if Red China were admitted.

■ To prevent this catastrophe, the American people must have the facts. They are available. In the documentary film, RED CHINA—OUTLAW!, the vital and necessary facts are dramatically presented by such eminent Americans as Lowell Thomas, Senators Thomas J. Dodd and Paul H. Douglas, and Congressman Walter H. Judd.

■ Because of the urgency of the situation and in the public interest—Communications Distribution, Inc., is making a special offer—to all concerned Americans who want to aid in this fight—to purchase prints of this film at the lowest price ever.

■ Until now, prints of the 30-minute, 16mm sound documentary film cost $125.00. Now, while the supply lasts, you can purchase it for only $95.00 (with all postage and handling paid by us!). Thus, those who purchase RED CHINA—OUTLAW! now will save $30.00 per print.

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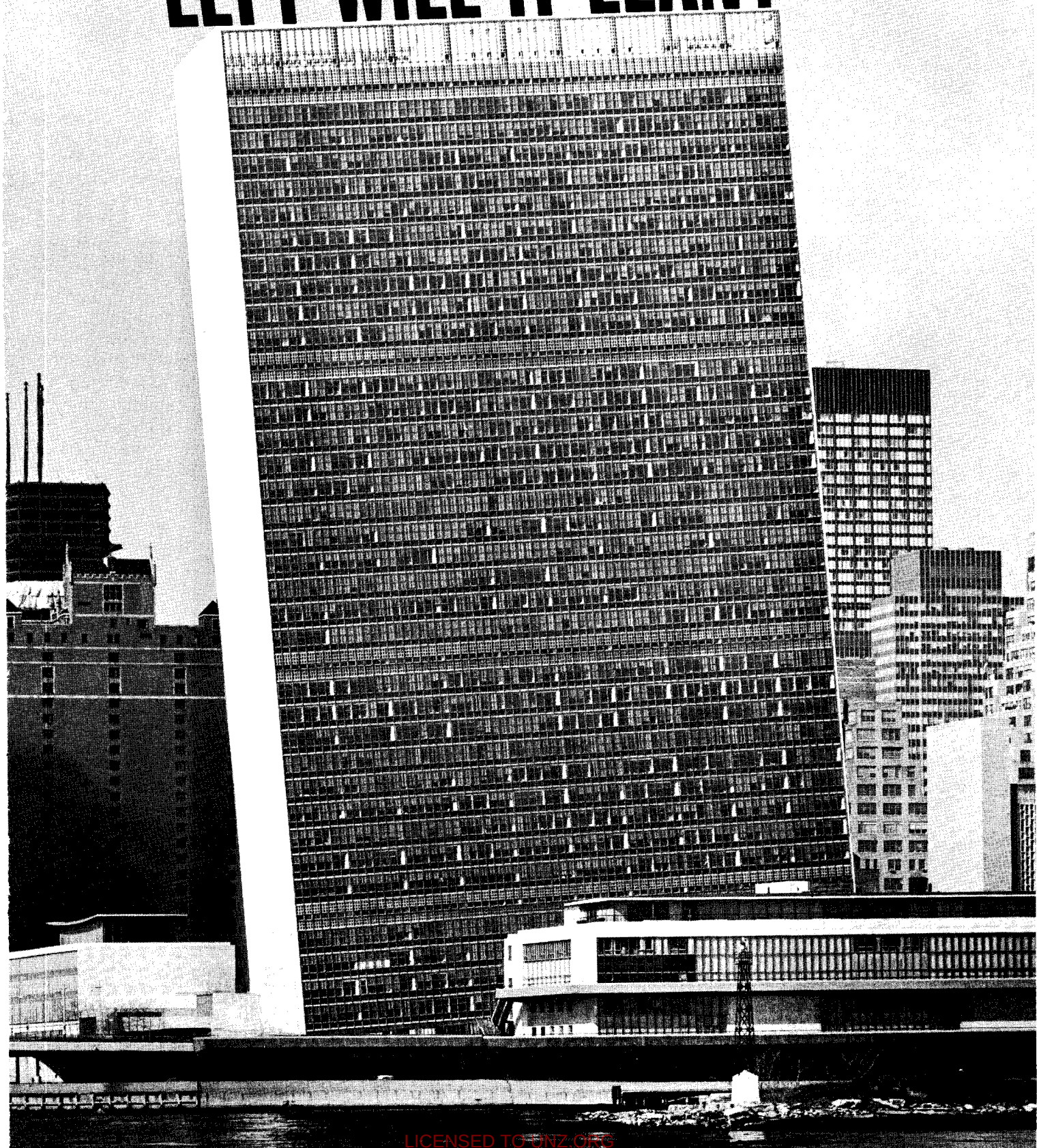

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The fight will be shown in theatres and other locations throughout the United States and Canada via closed circuit TV.

The price scale for the Floyd Patterson-Sonny Liston World's Heavyweight Championship bout to be held at Comiskey Park on the evening of September 25, 1962, is as follows:

RINGSIDE	$100.00
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The WEEK

● See the Liberal peddler. See the Liberal peddler in the Free Market Place of Ideas. The Liberal is peddling Change. Peaceful change, change for the better, changeless change. Peddle, Liberal, peddle. Isn't the Liberal peddler funny? Give the Liberal a tax-dollar. See if you get any change.

● One day he was correcting proof on his thirtieth book. The next he was in surgery for three hours. That evening the 88-year-old gentleman's friends and admirers the world over rejoiced that Herbert Hoover has successfully passed one more test in a long life full of extraordinary demands and extraordinary achievement.

● On August 18 a three-judge Federal Court, specially appointed by the Supreme Court, denied a suit by radio station WMCA and six individuals to invalidate the New York legislative apportionment and the 1894 law on which this is based. The finding was made under the Supreme Court's bewildering March decision in the *Tennessee* case, which held—contrary to precedent—that the problem was properly brought before the federal judiciary, and that "unreasonable" apportionments are unconstitutional. The WMCA suit rested on the democratist argument that the New York apportionment, by failing to divide districts equally with respect to population, made an "invidious discrimination" against the cities. What gives the decision major significance is the judges' unanimous refusal to admit quantitative equality as the only test of a "reasonable" apportionment. Although the New York districts are in fact not equal in population, the judges nevertheless found that they "are rational, not arbitrary, are of substantially historical origin, contain no gross discrimination . . . and are not unconstitutional." Granting that population is one important factor, the opinion declared that "geography, accessibility [and] a proper diffusion of political initiative as between a state's thinly populated counties and those having heavily concentrated masses" ought also to be taken into account. It is some comfort to discover that good sense can still be occasionally encountered at the federal bar, but this New York ruling only re-emphasizes the disorder brought by the Supreme Court's usurpatory thrust into the essentially political frontier of apportionment.

● In the Battle of the Big Names which is hotting up in Massachusetts these days, Rep. Laurence Curtis is just about unique. He is not a Kennedy, McCormack, Lodge, or Hughes (or even a Lowell or Cabot). He is no spring chicken (68). He has had extensive legislative experience (five terms in the Massachusetts legislature, five terms in the U.S. House of Representatives). He's a conservative (the only one of the five) and in good standing (ACA rating: 91 per cent; ADA rating: 10 per cent). He has been endorsed by the Massachusetts Young Americans for Freedom and by 80 per cent of the Young Republican Clubs of Massachusetts. More important, in political terms, he is a proven vote-getter. While John F. Kennedy was running up a half-million vote lead over Nixon in 1960, Curtis defeated his Democratic opponent by a rousing 30,000 votes, even winning in heavily Democratic Boston—for which lèse-majesté he was duly punished by having his district simply reapportioned away come gerrymander time. Rep. Curtis is the only candidate in the field who has a chance to defeat Teddy Kennedy, if Kennedy wins the Democratic primary—as he is expected to—but to do so he'll need all the help he can get against his own primary opponent, Liberal Republican George Lodge.

● Seven major insurance companies in New York have formed a special pool to offer hospitalization and major medical insurance policies to people over 65. The premiums are moderate, running about $10 a month depending on the coverage. During the one-month admission period any person over 65 may apply without taking a physical examination, as long as he's not actually hospitalized at the time. New York thus follows Connecticut and Massachusetts in fashioning the free-market alternative to President Kennedy's socialized medicine scheme, and the trend is likely to continue through the major states initially. Under these private (and non-profit) arrangements the insurance coverage is broader, benefits greater, and premiums undoubtedly lower than they would have been under the federal program. Not so strangely, the humanitarian press which would have jubilated had Washington gotten the business has failed to crack a smile of welcome for this imaginative innovation in medical care for the elderly.

● It is no longer news that Spain entered a period of economic development, social change and political liberalization after the Stabilization Act of 1959. But it is very much current news that the *New York Times,* which has never in the past twenty-six years hidden its editorial hostility to the Franco regime and all its works, has published (August 23 & 24) two long articles on this period that are wonderfully informative, judiciously critical, and at the same time sympathetic in tone to Spain, to her people and even to Franco. We congratulate Benjamin Welles (the son of Sumner Welles), who wrote this survey at the conclusion of a six-year assignment as the *Times'*

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Madrid correspondent, for a first-class job of serious reporting. And we cannot help speculating that the appearance of so impressive a statement in so significant an environment may be a sign that the Establishment here and in NATO Europe may at last have decided that the Spanish Civil War is over.

● The London Symphony has given the world première performance of Luigi Nono's Cantata, "On the Bridge at Hiroshima," a musical setting of various ban-the-bomb verses in German, Italian, and Spanish. Lest the hisses and boos with which the audience greeted the work be misconstrued, let's note the possibility that neither performers nor conductor really knew the score.

● Do you want to know what it means for the economic development of Latin America to have a Communist base in the Caribbean? These figures will tell you: 1) In the decade of the 1950s net new non-governmental U.S. investment in Latin America averaged $250 million a year. 2) In 1960 it was $95 million. 3) In the first quarter of 1961, it was $50 million; second quarter, $93 million; third quarter, one million; fourth quarter, —3 (minus three) million. 4) 1962 continues at a close-to-zero rate ($5 million in the first quarter; figures not all in, but about the same in the second).

● Real Caouette, deputy leader of Canada's Social Credit Party, caught his wit in a wringer when he allowed himself to be quoted in the press as praising Hitler and Mussolini. He promptly corrected the press by explaining that he liked the early reforms instituted by those two demons; they had, for example, made the trains run on time. But even that is incorrect. The trains were always late. A day late. *Exactly* twenty-four hours late, to the minute, as a matter of fact.

● For the family farmer whose entrepreneurial freedom has been encroached on by growing governmental centralization, the small businessman harassed by bureaucratic edict, the litigant intimidated by the network of slick lawyers engaged in promoting Soviet ambitions, the forgotten American in a Communist jail—there has been no organized legal protection. A new group, called the "Defenders of American Liberties," has been set up to fill the void. Robert Morris, who has resigned from the presidency of the University of Dallas, will serve as president and counsel.

● Professor Gunapala P. Malalasekera is outraged, but at whom he's not sure. "Not knowing who resorted to this misguided concept of political conspiracy, I accuse no one," says the Professor, but at the same time expresses his confidence that the delegates will "repudiate the attempt—unprecedented in the seventeen-year-history of the United Nations—to expose the honor of the highest office of the world's leading parliament to the lowest level of cold war tactics." Sound like a disgruntled politician? He is. The professor, a Ceylonese diplomat, was one of the leading contenders for the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly until he slipped a spicy confidential report with spiteful snippets about the United States, Great Britain, Belgium and Adlai into the wrong envelope and now his every little nastie is being gleefully repeated. You would think that having spent the better part of the last few years in a glass house he would have. . . .

Here's Our Chance

For a year or more, Khrushchev has railed at the European Common Market. He's called it a capitalistic-colonialistic plot; a neo-Nazi enterprise; a cover for NATO military buildup; a threat to the security of the Communist bloc, and so on. He has bullied Finland, threatened Austria and Sweden, and vilified the individual members of EEC. But the European neutrals have continued to apply for membership. Soviet trade with EEC has expanded rapidly. And EEC hasn't been blown away by Moscow.

So in the approved fashion the line changes. At the current economic conference in Moscow the Communist Party has announced a new analysis of the Common Market, hinting at closer East-West trade. It has established twenty-year goals for the entire Communist bloc. While continuing its opposition to the entry of Britain and the neutrals into the EEC, it holds out the chance of collaboration and peaceful competition between economic groupings such as the EEC and the East European trade bloc.

Beneath the highly academic rhetoric of the Soviet announcement at least three strands can be seen: 1) the counter-development of a solidified Communist economic bloc, with the relative economic advantage shifted further toward Moscow and away from the satellites; 2) the shift in statistical series, possibly, to cover the lapses in previously proclaimed grandiosities; and 3) a further attempt, beyond such things as the oil pipelines slithering through Italy and eastern Europe, to tie Western economies to Soviet-controlled shut-off valves.

As usual, it looks like a complex challenge. As usual, the response is available nevertheless to any Western spokesman who can see beyond today's dollar and tomorrow's mirage:

Free trade stops at the barbed wire.

Tear down your walls, free your slaves, and then we'll talk.

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France: the Unpaid Bill

On July 1 France breathed a great sigh of relief. After eight dreadful years the Algerian business—final episode of *la sale guerre,* the dirty war that had begun in Indochina—was over. France was cut loose from the millstone, and could stand upright again—or, perhaps, rest in the booming economy which she is now enjoying.

But no one is permitted to leave the political table without paying his check. For mistakes and defeats the bill is always heavy; and in relation to Algeria many mistakes and a shattering defeat are charged to France's account.

So, within the very first weeks France's dream of liberation—it was France, more ardently than the Arabs of Algeria, that sought liberation—has evaporated, dissolved in the acid bitterness of the half-million refugees, blown apart by the rising storm of bank robberies, arms seizures and *plasticages,* vanished finally in the crossfire from machine guns raking de Gaulle's car as it careened through empty streets at eighty miles per hour.

The Evian Agreement was based on the perspective of "Franco-Algerian association." In Paris on August 28, Louis Joxe, Minister for Algerian Affairs, and Abderrahmane Fares, President of the Algerian "Transitional Executive," signed a protocol on joint exploitation of Saharan oil, gas and minerals. But Fares represents no one and the Transitional Executive is a ghost.

The masters of Arab Algeria have already repudiated the Evian scraps of paper and set their course for renewed struggle *against* France and "neo-colonialism" (see "The Third World War," this issue). Have they defeated France only to yield her the choicest fruits of the Saharan harvest? Meanwhile, the Algerian masses stir in jobless frustration and hunger, while their leaders maneuver in relentless internecine struggle. (All through the eight years, of course, it had been mostly fellow-Moslems that the FLN was killing.)

The Secret Army and the Bidault-Soustelle Council of National Resistance did not go conveniently out of existence on July 1, it seems. They believe that with de Gaulle out of the way—by whatever means—France would polarize into Communist and anti-Communist camps; and that the Army would under those circumstances back an anti-Communist "government of national unity." Because they have still failed to win significant mass support from the metropolitan French, it is doubtful that their tactic could offer a "solution," much less permit a retracing of the Algerian path.

But some among them or their following apparently believe strongly enough to have determined to kill de Gaulle. Since these include men who, however mistaken, are both brave and trained for killing, it is probable that Charles de Gaulle does not have much longer to live.

On the Catholic Front

Because to yield to them is wrong, whatever one's political or philosophical views, conservatives must resist temptations that Liberals regularly do not have to resist.

The kind of thing we mean is often happening within the Catholic community, where Liberals are continually denouncing their conservative brethren as defiant of Catholic social doctrine and therefore, inferentially, as Bad Catholics. The other side occasionally does the very same thing—and NATIONAL REVIEW was itself once guilty of it by running an article called "Can a Liberal be a Catholic?" The article itself was splendid, and the author had not given it that title: it was supplied in the shop, in a routine and imprudent effort to sensationalize. (What we should have called it is: "Can a Liberal go to Heaven?") . . . Along comes an example, again, of the wrong kind of thing—

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If Hubert Humphs, Can Ev Be Far Behind?

(Or: Whan that Aprille fooles . . .)

What Senator Humphrey wanted to know was why "almost no flowers are blooming anywhere in the immediate vicinity of the Capitol Building."

> The calendar tells us that spring has come. If we step outside right now, we can feel that it is spring. . . . Even the leaves and the trees surrounding the Capitol tell us rather plaintively that it is spring. . . . Probably I am taking this all too seriously, but it appears to me that there needs to be some note of beauty in our deliberations. . . .

Senator Dirksen was overcome by the beauty of Mr. Humphrey's thoughts.

> I am always transported by the profound observations made by my distinguished friend; but never am I quite so transported as when he ventures into the domain of flowers.

However, Senator Dirksen warned, we are only at the 25th of April, and the "gardeners usually figure that there may be a frost as late as the first of May."

> Of course, there are frost-resistant flowers. For instance, let us consider the gentle, multicolored pansies. They can be planted in the winter; and when spring comes, after the winter has ended, we find them with their beautiful, dainty heads, helping to beautify the world.
>
> Then there is the daffodil, a hardy flower. I remember the little ode by Wordsworth:
>
> Ten thousand saw I at a glance,
> Tossing their heads in sprightly dance.
>
> But we cannot cover the entire Capitol Grounds with daffodils.
>
> The gardeners have always graced the Capitol Grounds with cannas, but of course they are not very frost-resistant. . . .
>
> The dahlias always entrance the eye; but one must be careful lest the tiny shoots of the dahlias come up before the frost ends, in which case it is necessary to do the work all over again.
>
> Then there is the gentle petunia, one of my favorite flowers. But one must be careful about when he plants them.
>
> I am afraid that my distinguished friend, the Senator from Minnesota, has failed to read the old almanac, which tells us that in April, frost may occur at any time. . . . Thus it is, Mr. President, that the Senator from Minnesota and I must wait on nature and must permit nature to take its own sweet time. We must take into account the seasons and the time when the frosts end. . . . Certainly in due time there will be cannas and dahlias and prince's-feather and, in due time, all the other beautiful flowers, that somehow engender a kind of introspection, assuage all the turbulence of the soul, and bring peace to the hearts of all those who labor here. . . .

Senator Humphrey was back on his feet, having seen the flower-vote stolen from right under his very eyes.

> . . . the reassurance we have received from the Minority Leader gives me a ray of hope, and I think I can hang on for a few days more. But I should like to say that although undoubtedly the Senator from Illinois is an expert on horticulture, he is much less expert when he deals with matters of temperature. I would be delighted to have the Senator stop by the neighborhood where I live in Maryland. . . . I would like to have him see the beautiful flowers of some of my neighbors. [Yet] it is a little more frosty in the country than it is in this urban area. There are also beautiful flowers at the White House. I did not know the power of the New Frontier was so great that it could draw the frost line where it wanted to, even though it might be helpful—
>
> *Mr. Dirksen* (interrupting). Now, Mr. President—
>
> *Mr. Humphrey.*—I know now that I have strong, staunch support in this famous soldier of agronomy from Illinois—
>
> *Mr. Dirksen.* In my observations I should have mentioned the stately tulip, but I am afraid my friend is making reference to shrubs—
>
> *Mr. Humphrey.* No. The Senator from Minnesota knows the difference between a shrub and a flower.
>
> *Mr. Dirksen.* Shrubs such as forsythia and dogwood and other plants are presently coming into bloom. But I remind my friend that "Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning."

Be reassured.

> *Mr. Humphrey.* I join with the distinguished Senator and offer him my hand in the interest of horticulture and better shrubs and flowers.

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from the Right. A Mr. Gordon Fitzgerald has published a little book called *A Catholic Rebels.* This is a right-wing version of the conventional left-wing ploy—page after page of excerpts from the Popes' encyclical letters marshalled to "prove" that one's political opponents are living in a criminal state of defiance of their own Faith.

The victim of the procedure is, in this instance, John F. Kennedy. Catholic conservatives will be tempted to take secret satisfaction on seeing the Liberals' own weapon turned against them. Mr. Fitzgerald's performance, after all, is at least as skillful and well-documented as the standard Liberal pronouncement *ex cathedra sinistra.* But Catholics, of all political positions, it would seem, must resolutely deny themselves this particular kind of satisfaction. The rummaging of the papal documents—or, for that matter, Bible-picking—for partisan tags is undignified, divisive, and unjust, whether engaged in by the Left or the Right. The encyclical literature establishes a meaningful context for political discussion, but not if parts of that literature are torn from the whole and used talismanically to hex one's foes. Mr. Fitzgerald thinks that the papal teaching makes it a Catholic's clear duty to oppose Mr. Kennedy—just as Liberals were saying, not so long ago, that the Pope had anticipated the Senate in censuring Senator McCarthy. Although practical political positions cannot, and should not, be wholly divorced from theological social doctrine, Catholics can oppose the New Frontier without constructing a Vatican imperative for this. It is as insulting to Catholics of all parties to say the Vatican has "purged" the present Administration, as it is to claim that the New Frontier is the rim of the Roman Empire.

Du Calme, Madame

Columniste Harriet Van Horne is, next maybe to Columnist Inez Robb, perhaps the most excitable woman in the world. And the two ladies tend to follow a most curious formula: they get excited on the subject of Things One Shouldn't Get Excited About. The ladies are so determined that no one should worry about the threat of internal Communism that they get red-faced, hoarse, and uncontrollable on confronting anyone who disagrees with them.

Miss Van Horne, for instance, went quite literally berserk last week on contemplating the irenic mien of Dr. Fred Schwarz on *Meet the Press* (where one of his interrogators was NATIONAL REVIEW's publisher). Dr. Schwarz was asked, as one would expect, whether he, as head of the Christian Anti-Communism Cru-

"You're not even sorry!"

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sade, repudiates the John Birch Society. He answered, simply: It is not our business to repudiate the John Birch Society—we don't repudiate anybody but the Communists. A perfectly intelligible position, one would think, for an organization that has always called for the broadest common front against the Communists. But listen to La Van Horne: ". . . *nobody ever points out that the real target of the Far Right is the decent citizen, Liberal or conservative, who believes in the Bill of Rights, the equality of man and an open free society.*" Nobody? It's a lot closer to everybody, but the Liberal on the march knoweth not redundancy. ". . . *A man who would refuse to repudiate the Far Right*"—now get this, from a moralizer on toleration—"*would not scruple to spy on a neighbor, beat up a Negro or engage in scurrilous, dead-of-night telephone campaigns.*" Does it not follow that Schwarz, whose refusal to repudiate "the Far Right" is the subject of her column, would not scruple at doing any of these things? Ah, you reckon without the transcendent logical powers of the fanatic. Miss Van Horne says: "Schwarz himself would, one feels sure, deplore these practices. Still . . ."

The lady is far gone, but stay just a minute: while we are at it, we may as well pass along, in our capacity as taxidermists of the enormities of Liberalism, a paragraph that combines in almost unique measure, ignorance, sentimentality, and freneticism. "*There are fewer than 20,000 Communists in this country today,*" Miss Van Horne advises "*the grim-lipped doctor* [Schwarz]. *They are a tattered, neurotic little band of misplaced persons, emotionally and intellectually. I have seen them, heard them and read their lunatic tracts. In all 20,000 of them, there isn't the wit or the daring, to say nothing of the organizational talent, to blow up a village post office. If these dregs of the old CP are, as claimed, 'the tool of Moscow,' then Moscow's cause is dead forever. The real, the only Communist menace, is from abroad. And this the Far Right dismisses as of no consequence.*" The Communists have at least enough wit—granted, it takes not very much—to bewitch the likes of Miss Van Horne into saying, and obviously believing, the kind of invidious nonsense that she passes along in her tormented columns.

Notes and Asides

Friends and admirers—and enemies—of Whittaker Chambers, a former editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, will be interested in a long article in the current *Esquire*, called "The Last Days of Whittaker Chambers." It is written by William Buckley, but consists primarily of excerpts from Chambers' extraordinary letters, and from material he wrote for NATIONAL REVIEW.

For The Record

Administration is having trouble finding someone willing to replace Ambassador James Loeb in Peru. (Among Loeb gaucheries: he wrote open letter last year to a science faculty in Lima rebuking it for not protesting Soviet resumption of nuclear tests.) . . . Far East buzzing with informed reports that Owen Lattimore held a number of meetings with high ranking Red Chinese officials during his visit to Outer Mongolia a year ago. . . . Red China's Marshal Chen, in interview with Swiss radio reporter, said it was "rather nice" of President Kennedy to have assured Peiping that the U.S. will not allow Free China to attack the mainland. . . . French residents in Algeria have been forbidden by provisional authorities to send their agricultural machinery to France, in direct violation of Evian accord.

JFK during election: "It's about time the American people know" that the eight years of the Eisenhower Administration "added 106,000 new federal employees to the rolls." Eighteen months of New Frontier have swelled federal rolls by 143,000. . . . AFL-CIO has officially come out against (Francis) Walter bills which would strengthen security procedures in defense plants. . . . California conservatives warn that if John Rousselot and Edgar Hiestand lose in November it will not mean rejection by voters of conservative candidates. Both Rousselot and Hiestand were redistricted into Democratic territory by Democratic legislature last year. (Rousselot is running against the man who redistricted him.) . . . Election predictions complicated this year by remapping of 198 congressional districts as result of 1960 census.

Most reliable reports put the number of Soviet and satellite "technicians" who have arrived in Cuba in recent months at 12,000. Many of them are Czechs. . . . Bessarabian dockers, according to foreign sailors, recently rioted when ordered to load foodstuffs for Cuba on grounds that they were short of food themselves. Militia had to be called out.

Czechoslovakia, most industrialized of the Soviet satellites, turned out 72,000 cars last year; Spain, least industrialized of Western European nations, turned out 75,000.

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On the Right

Take a Vote, Gentlemen

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

A dispute has arisen between the editors of *America*, a liberal weekly edited by Jesuit priests, and the spokesmen for certain Jewish groups in New York in the aftermath of last June's decision by the Supreme Court outlawing common prayer in the public schools. The Jesuits want to know this: How far, finally, do the most militant Jewish groups intend to go in absoluting the First Amendment to the Constitution? What will they ask the Court to decide tomorrow? That chaplains should not be retained by the House of Representatives or the Senate? That churches should not receive tax exemption? That the army, navy, and air force may not employ chaplains? That the pledge of allegiance, the national currency, and the national anthem, should be stripped of all religious references?

Buckley

"The time has come," say the editors, for all of us to concern ourselves over the possibility of a rise in anti-Semitism, which can best be avoided by asking "these fellow citizens of ours to decide among themselves precisely what they conceive to be the final objective of the Jewish community in the United States—in a word, what bargain they are willing to strike as one of the minorities in a pluralistic society."

The response by several prominent Jewish spokesmen, notably Mr. Leo Pfeffer of the American Jewish Congress, has missed the point entirely. "It is a sorry day for religious liberty in the United States," said Mr. Pfeffer, ruefully, "when an effort to protect the guarantees of the First Amendment should evoke thinly veiled threats of anti-Semitism from so respectable a journal of opinion as *America*."

And instantly the question raised by *America* is lost from view—tyrannized out of sight by the all-consuming, all-engrossing spectre of anti-Semitism. . . . "It is disquieting," Dr. Pfeffer continues, "that the editors of *America* should apparently impose as a condition for avoidance of anti-Semitism that Jews forgo their rights to seek judicial determination of their constitutional liberties. In the guise of predicting anti-Semitism, they are in fact encouraging it."

But the Jesuits had also missed the point.

There are two questions involved here, and it will repay the effort to keep them clearly in focus before the argument is completely lost in one of those hopeless exchanges of charges involving anti-Semitism. No. 1: *If* the "Jewish community" (it is of course wrong to speak of all Jews as though they responded similarly to political and social questions, but the American Jewish Congress is a duly constituted spokesman for a large number of influential Jews)—as a whole—finds itself arguing for a construction of the First Amendment whose effects would be abhorrent to the overwhelming majority of the Christian community, then obviously aggrieved Christians are going to oppose those Jews they identify as working against their freedoms. Now that is very different from predicting that Christians will become "anti-Semitic." (Undoubtedly some hotheaded and undiscriminating Christians will go on from there and transmute their opposition to the political goals of the Jewish community, into a generalized ethnic and religious complaint, which would properly go under the name of anti-Semitism—that all of us must guard against.) To say that tension will arise between Christian and Jewish groups is to state an obvious and predictable sociological fact, no more debatable than the proposition that any upsurge in Democratic militancy in Congress would breed strong and tough Republican counteraction, as happened during the Roosevelt years in the 1930s. The problem is to keep these things from getting out of hand, and to discourage ignorant and superstitious and convulsive escalations of tolerable political differences.

A second point to bear in mind involves the necessity of giving thought to the difference between two questions. A) What does the Constitution say, about religion and the state? And B) What do the people of the United States, who are self-governing, desire their Constitution to say? It is one thing to say: We understand the First Amendment or the Constitution, fully understood and applied, to prohibit any religious insinuation into public life. It is another thing to say: We *desire* a Constitution which goes that far in separating church and state.

Here is the root confusion, implicit in such a sentence as Dr. Pfeffer's, asking that Jews be allowed "their rights to seek judicial determination of their constitutional liberties," while the Jesuit priests are asking, "how far" the Jewish community intends to press for an absolutist separation. If Dr. Pfeffer's views prevail, the people of the United States would be governed by prohibitions which they would continue to find repellent, and which, as any deeply anti-democratic law is bound to do, will breed strife and bitterness. There is one way to dissipate the concentrations of resentment that are building up. It is to submit to the American people a constitutional amendment which will attempt to reformulate the controversial passage "Congress shall pass no law establishing religion," in such a way as, on the one hand to continue to outlaw any preferential treatment given to a single religion, and on the other hand to permit religion to continue to be a part of the public life; a part, if you like, of the official American image.

In the great debate that would follow, those who approve the secularist drift of the Supreme Court, and they include not only some Jews, but also some Protestants and some Catholics, would state their case on its merits, rather than by historical extrapolations on the intentions of the Founding Fathers; and everyone on both sides of the heated question would submit his passions to political adjudication.

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From Washington Straight

CATO

Security procedures are a big issue on the Hill again these days. The background of the current situation is, briefly, this:

Some years ago the Defense Department set up an industrial security program under which loyalty and security risks employed by defense contractors were subject to dismissal in cases when they came into contact with classified material in the course of their work. In *Greene* v. *McElroy* (June 29, 1959) the Supreme Court in effect spiked this program on the grounds that there was no executive or legislative sanction for it. President Eisenhower then issued Excutive Order 10645, providing the necessary executive sanction, but also giving the accused individuals the right to confront their accusers, with two important exceptions: 1) When classified documents formed the basis of the accusation such documents could be denied to the accused but a "sanitized" summary could be made available; 2) When the head of the accusing agency (in most cases, the FBI) submitted an affidavit stating that confrontation with the accuser would endanger national security. (This, of course, was to protect undercover FBI agents or sensitive information sources.)

Cato

The Defense Department security program, based on the Eisenhower executive order, is now being challenged in the courts. To buttress it legislatively, and to tighten security procedures, Rep. Francis Walter, Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, has sponsored two measures. The first, HR 11363, grants legislative sanction to the existing program. The second, HR 12082, deals more specifically with the super-sensitive National Security Agency.

It was in the course of an extensive investigation into security measures at NSA, which was touched off by the 1960 defection (around U-2 time) of NSA employees Bernon Mitchell and William Martin, that HUAC discovered NSA was about as secure as Houdini. The NSA and the Defense Department incidentally, and to their credit, cooperated to the fullest with HUAC investigators; a number of NSA employees—including a security official who had falsified a question on his own questionnaire, and more than a score of homosexuals—were fired and security tightened up.

Walter's HR 12082 is designed to give NSA a security program identical to CIA's. Under it, the director of NSA can summarily dismiss any individual he suspects of being a security risk without having to justify the action to anyone.

Both Walter bills were immediately acceptable to most of Congress. But when they were placed on the Consent Calendar of the House, where they can be speeded through by unanimous consent, it was a Republican, New York's ambitious and capable John Lindsay, who raised an objection which killed both bills for the day. The bills are scheduled to come up again under a suspension of the rules, which requires a two-thirds vote of approval of the members present, to ensure passage. In the last-minute congressional frenzy to close up shop in time to get home for necessary electioneering, it's possible that these vital security measures may fall by the wayside.

But the question puzzling many in the Capitol is, why did John Lindsay, whose political ambitions are vast, put himself on the line of this one? Do his sensitive political antennae tell him another anti-security brouhaha is in the making? The politicos think the answer is simpler than that. Lindsay, they say, is already bucking for Albany and to get to Albany he'll need hard-Left votes.

When John McClellan was asked recently if his Committee was still investigating the Billie Sol Estes case, he replied: "I'm investigating something, but I'll be darned if I know what it is." At the time, some doubts were expressed (in this column as well as in others) that Senator McClellan's bloodhounds were really interested in finding out who among the Agriculture aides were involved in the Sol Estes swindles.

But in recent weeks, the Committee has knuckled down to the job and is climbing higher and higher up the ladder of the Agriculture Department's hierarchy in its hunt for Estes' more accommodating friends. At this writing, it has reached the next to highest rung and the wise money is that for one reason or another—ill health? other commitments? more important post? family reasons?—the official days of Secretary Freeman are numbered.

One political by-product of the case has been an upsurge of optimism among GOP strategists in Texas, where the Billie Sol Estes pot is really boiling. The Republicans think they will probably win one congressional race in the Estes backwash, and they hope to strike some gubernatorial pay-dirt as well.

The Democrats are obviously casting here and there for a GOP scandal to offset the Estes case—and having a hard time of it. The recent stockpile investigation was the first target, but it got off to a bad start with former Treasury Secretary George Humphrey winning the initial round against the Administration's hatchetman in the episode, Sen. Stuart ("Sanctimonious Stu," as Joe McCarthy once called him) Symington. When it became apparent not only to the senators but to a nationwide television hookup that Symington was no match for Humphrey, the hearings were quickly adjourned. Prognostication: they will be reopened and wild charges levelled at Humphrey and other Eisenhower officals just before the November elections.

The Democrats also are reported nosing around the just-about-defunct Bernard Goldfine case in hopes of turning up something overlooked in the original and follow-up inquiries. But this could be dangerous ground, since Goldfine's major operations centered around Massachusetts, the Kennedy Administration's backyard, and most of the corpses in the Goldfine graveyard are said to have donkeys, not elephants, on their headstones.

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The Third World War

The Algerian Way

JAMES BURNHAM

The officer-instructors at the Congo training camp for Angolan revolutionaries were themselves trained by the Algerian revolutionaries: by the "Army of National Liberation" (ALN) and its associated party (FLN). By boasting of this fact, the Algerians announce their bid for leadership of "the African revolution."

Does this seem an unrealistic presumption? The Algerian population of nine million is considerably less than Egypt's or Nigeria's but the FLN assumes that Algeria will dominate the entire Maghreb, with seventeen million more. Algeria's territory is more than seven times larger than metropolitan France. Its coastal regions, together with the flanking extensions in Morocco and Tunisia, comprise Africa's most important strategic position. The Saharan oil and gas fields are the primary African energy source so far discovered. In size, the ALN is topped only by the armies of Egypt and South Africa—the latter a formation of the counter-revolution, and therefore not a rival but an enemy. In experience, hardness and ferocity, the ALN, which has been fighting a civil war for eight years, rates itself well above any African rival.

The Evian Trap

So Algeria's "material base" is sufficient to give substance to its bid for leadership. How, then, do the Algerians conceive "the revolution" they propose to lead? The authoritative statement is a 50-page document known as "the Hammamet Report." This was secretly prepared in May by a special committee headed by Ahmed Ben Bella, but with representatives from all factions. It was unanimously approved by the FLN's directing Council (CNRA). Some copies appeared in the Tunisian town of Hammamet (hence the name), but it has been unknown and ignored outside of FLN circles. The key to the Hammamet Report is the rejection of the idea that national independence is the content of the revolution. Independence is only the prelude to the true revolution, which remains to be accomplished *after* independence. By making national independence the primary goal of the anti-imperialist revolution, as most of the African countries have done, the new nation only passes from colonialism to *neo-colonialism.*

"Either a revolution is going on in this country," Ben Bella recently summarized, "or else Algeria will become only a modified version of the other African regimes, which are accepting neo-colonialism." The report analyzes de Gaulle's "Evian policy" as follows: "The Gaullist government finds itself driven to transform the classic colonial regime into a neo-colonialist system aiming to uphold under new forms the essentials of France's economic and strategic interests." Algeria must at all costs avoid getting stalled in the Evian agreement, which "constitutes a neo-colonialist program that France seeks to utilize in order to establish and manipulate a new form of domination."

The launching of the true revolution cannot take place spontaneously. Because France "aims to reverse the course of the revolution," there must be a new struggle succeeding the struggle for independence. First, Algeria must get rid of the French army. "While Algerian territory is occupied by foreign troops, the state's freedom of action will be restricted and its sovereignty threatened."

Next, control of the European minority over nine-tenths of the economy must be brought to an end. But the European minority is economically linked to the Arab bourgeoisie, a relationship that the French had shrewdly in mind in formulating the Evian agreement. "The French Government will not rely solely on the armed forces and the French minority to distort the evolution of Algeria. It will exploit above all the political and social contradictions within the FLN, and will try to find within this movement objective allies who may be susceptible to being detached from the revolution in order to turn it against itself." There must be a "non-discriminatory" and total anti-bourgeois policy—against the bourgeoisie of the Arab as well as the European community. The Report further motivates this linkage by the argument that the native bourgeoisie —in Algeria and in all Africa—has joined the struggle for independence only opportunistically and episodically; that it aims, "in the name of national union," merely to extend its own social domination over "the frustrated people."

Whose Revolution?

Who, then, will "make" the *popular democratic revolution?* "The democratic revolution in Algeria cannot be realized by a single social class, no matter how enlightened; only the people can carry it through, that is, the peasantry, the workers, the youth and the revolutionary intellectuals."

The people, so defined, can accomplish nothing, however, by "recourse to the methods of classical liberalism [which] do not permit a real transformation of society. . . . They merely aggravate the anarchy of the market, reinforce economic dependence on imperialism, make the state a mechanism for shifting more wealth to the hands of the well-to-do, and nourish the activity of parasitic social formations linked to imperialism."

Therefore: "complete overturn of existing social structures . . ., state planning and control of the economy." Immediate nationalization of banks, insurance and export industries; of quarries, mines and cement plants a little later; then, of all minerals, energy production, transport. And, as axis, the "agricultural reform": expropriation of all land holdings above a small maximum; formation of co-operatives, collectives and state farms.

It was, one may recall, a United States Air Force plane that, on President Kennedy's orders, flew Ben Bella back to North Africa. I wonder how Mr. Kennedy feels his protégé is doing.

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Letter from Paris

France: Paternalism or Civil War?

THOMAS MOLNAR

Politically speaking, France lives today in an uncomfortable mixture of apathy and subterranean agitation. The apathy, which dates from the postwar years, has grown with general prosperity, and has now been accentuated by the arbitrariness of President de Gaulle's rule, a dictatorship made livable by *je m'enfoutisme*. It is a strange atmosphere in which a coming paternalistic decade is as imaginable as civil war.

The extraordinary malaise that the visitor feels almost physically has its roots in the Algerian problem. As I write these lines, Algeria has become independent, and hundreds of thousands of displaced persons are trying to find a place in what for them is a new country—and France is scandalously unprepared to receive them. But the "end" of the Algerian war is a misnomer: in Algeria the real trouble now begins, and in France the Algerian refugees and a browbeaten dishonored army spread unrest.

In Algeria it is painfully evident that, with the departure of the "Europeans," the new government will find it well-nigh impossible to manage a highly developed land in which everything, from schools to airports, has been serviced by a trained cadre. The blame for the massive exodus should not fall on the colonial power, but on the revolutionary and terroristic character of the FLN-supported government. The new regime frightens away not only the Europeans but the Moslem intelligentsia as well, civil servants, businessmen, professors. In the Oran region only three out of one thousand Moslem teachers have agreed to live in the new Algeria, and the same proportion is true of doctors, engineers, railway officials.

The GPRA (Provisional Government) declarations abound in reassurances of all sorts, guaranteeing security and steady income for those who stay. In reality, as an interesting document compiled by reliable information services shows, the Algerian leaders refuse to envisage the cooperation with France they had accepted as part of the Evian accords. The reassuring statements were intended to persuade the Moslems and Europeans to stay and vote "Yes" for independence; but the actual plans call for "revolutionary" transformations on the model of the Peoples Democracies, and demand "enthusiasm" rather than competence from a native cadre which is to be trained in East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

A further cause for dangerously unstable conditions is the divided leadership in the new government. One faction is pro-Communist and will work together with the Algerian Communist Party and the impatient, radical elements among the officers. The other (Ben Bella's) has its support in the army, the fighters in the field for eight years, who despise the "politicians" based in Tunisia and refuse to allow the revolution to be "stolen" from them. Finally the last faction (Ben Khedda's) favors cooperation with France, at least at the start, but runs the risk of being treated with arrogance and contempt by de Gaulle. To the eternal shame of France, de Gaulle has acted toward the pro-French population of Algeria —of European and Moslem origin alike—as if it were a criminal element, and authorized incredible atrocities against it by the *gendarmerie mobile*, while at the same time ordering the army not to hinder FLN exactions, kidnapings and massacres. As a result, the best elements, on whose continued presence the pro-Western faction counted, are leaving. And this will strengthen the pro-Soviet tendency.

The liquidation of the Algerian question has strengthened de Gaulle's hand with the rest of Europe, with NATO, and in his relationship *vis-à-vis* the "Anglo-Saxons," whom he so profoundly mistrusts. It is an open secret in Paris that the General considers that the United States is on the losing side in the battle with Communism, and that he thinks that France, blessed with his leadership, will be able, in the end, to outsmart the Kremlin. If the Lord gives him long life, he hopes to build a strong Europe, militarily bolstered by French atomic power, basically detached from the United States.

One often hears in Paris today that de Gaulle does the work of the Communists. This is certainly not his intention, although the rumor itself is symptomatic of the malaise that grips all but the most indifferent. In an extremely penetrating analysis Claude Harmel points out that while Mendès-France's PSU and other leftist parties and press organs denounce the regime's dictatorial features, Maurice Thorez, the Communist leader, exalts the national interests and refrains from stirring up serious social agitation. This may indicate an understanding on the part of the Kremlin that the "opening to the Left" must take different forms in each country: in France, the Popular Front formula would no longer be popular with a prosperous and depoliticized electorate. Alliance with an ideologically empty but conveniently monocratic Gaullism, however, could be exploited for the purposes of a kind of *national Communism* into which more and more regimes, in the East and the West, today are turning.

In France democracy today is in shambles anyway. *Tribunaux d'exception* (special courts) try and retry the accused, and the regime imposes one man's will on the best patriots while masses of cynics look the other way and opportunists applaud. There is something obscene in de Gaulle's repeated tours of the country, the parade of a hard-hearted, contemptuous man thirsting for the applause of multitudes he despises. The tragicomedy of this is appropriately underlined by the wager of his burly bodyguards (*"gorilles"*) as to which one will shake his hands more times—while he thinks he touches those extended to him by a grateful nation.

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Freedom or Virtue?

Conservatives, says the author, should examine more closely one of the dogmas of their faith, namely the presumptive correlation between freedom and virtue

L. BRENT BOZELL

. . . the "libertarian" takes as [his] *first principle in political affairs the freedom of the individual person and emphasizes the restriction of the power of the state and the maintenance of the free-market economy as guarantees of that freedom.*

. . . the "traditionalist" puts [his] *primary emphasis upon the authority of transcendent truth and the necessity of a political and social order in accord with the constitution of being.*

"The Twisted Tree of Liberty," *NR*, Jan. 16

Frank Meyer has labored earnestly in recent years to promote and justify modern American conservatism as a "fusion" of the libertarian and traditionalist points of view. His "Twisted Tree," though it read out of the movement that curious breed of anti-anti-Communist recently spawned by nihilistic libertarianism, was essentially a restatement of the thesis that a symbiosis of the two schools, if the contribution of each is properly understood, is not only possible but necessary. Meyer has been by no means alone in trying to keep order in conservatism's divided house. While he was perhaps the first to identify the contenders generically, and to name the terms for peaceful coexistence, he has been ably seconded by others, notably Stanton Evans, who has made Professor Morton Auerbach's allegations of right-wing schizophrenia ("Do-It-Yourself Conservatism?" *NR*, Jan. 30) his special concern. Still others, less persuaded than Meyer and Evans of the theoretical cogency of fusionist apologetics, have helped, too—by bearing their misgivings in silence for the sake of conservative unity.

Now I venture no prediction about the political fate of the Meyer-Evans effort—either as to its ability to hold the conservative movement together, or, more to the point, as to whether it will succeed in midwifing the movement to power. After all, the Liberal collapse is creating a power vacuum into which almost anything might move. I do question, however, whether the libertarian-traditionalist amalgam, as the fusionists define it, is *worth* bringing to power. For I doubt whether a movement dominated by libertarianism can be responsive to the root causes of Western disintegration. And we should not make any mistake about this. A movement that can accommodate libertarianism's axiom *is* dominated by it: if freedom is the "*first* principle" in politics, virtue is, at best, the second one; and the programmatic aspects of the movement that affirms that hierarchy will be determined accordingly.

Primacy of Freedom

Let us, then, look at the argument by which the fusionists arrive at the primacy of freedom and see whether it is persuasive. If we find the argument wanting, it will then be time to ask whether the theoretical difficulties are worth fretting about.

I

"The conservative believes," Evans writes, "that ours is a God-centered, and therefore an ordered Universe [and] that man's purpose is to shape his life to the patterns of order proceeding from the Divine center of life." Meyer calls this purpose "the transcendent goal of human existence." We may accept these two statements as a fair rendering of the "traditionalist emphasis." Evans adds (and of course Meyer agrees) that man is "hampered" in fulfilling his purpose by "a fallible intellect and vagrant will"—a condition some traditionalists would call original sin.

And now the transition to the "libertarian emphasis." Since he holds these root beliefs, Evans goes on, the "*conservative's first concern is that man restrain his appetites by the imperatives of right choice—choice which can take place only in circumstances favoring volition.*" This is one of the two reasons, he explains (the other we will consider in due course), why "limitation of government power becomes the highest *political* objective of conservatism." (The emphasis is Evans'.) Meyer puts the transition this way: the "fused position . . . maintains that the duty of men is to seek virtue; but it insists that men can not in actuality do so unless they are free from the constraints of the physical coercion of an unlimited state."

The argument is fast, and we will do well to slow it down a bit. Note that there are three propositions implicit in what we have just read: A. Man cannot restrain his "appetites" meaningfully — *i.e.*, pursue virtue—without choosing to do so. B. His ability to choose meaningfully and thus to restrain his appetites depends, to a significant degree, on external "circumstances." C. The *more* these circumstances favor choice, the *better* he can restrain his appetites and so achieve virtue; and conversely, as these circumstances become unfavorable, the opportunities for virtue diminish accordingly—and theoretically they can shrink, as Evans' word "only" and Meyer's flat "cannot" suggest, all the way to the zero point.

For the moment we may accept proposition A as true: the sense in which choice may *not* be necessary to virtue is not germane at this point. Proposition B, however — that the choice necessary to virtue can be affected by external circumstances—deserves our closest attention. It is key: if it is true, then proposition C, with its corollary that limitation of government power should be considered the highest political good, is

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probably true also; while if it is not true, this particular argument for libertarianism falls to the ground.

Let us go back to Evans' contention that "man's purpose is to shape his life to the [divine] patterns of order" (or Meyer's variant, "the duty of men is to seek virtue") in order to make sure we understand their meaning. And let us ask them, *why* is this man's purpose and his duty?

I think there are two possible answers to such a question. One is that God desires—for its own sake—a human order that conforms to the transcendent order, and therefore that He measures virtue by the extent to which human action existentially reflects divine norms. But this answer is certainly not the one Meyer and Evans would give. Under such a view of things, man's concern is simply to establish temporal conditions conducive to God-approved human action, and while leaving matters to individual choice may be useful in some instance, there is no *a priori* need for freedom at all. The other possibility is that God wants man to "prove himself"—or, in Christian terms, to *earn* salvation. This we may assume, until they tell us otherwise, is exactly Meyer's and Evans' meaning. (While there is a formidable taboo against using religious terminology in political discussions, we will do well to disregard it for the moment if we want to grasp the problem, at root a theological one, that fusionists, and I think conservatives in general, are ultimately concerned with.)

Freedom and Salvation

Now if earning salvation is what we are talking about, we will have to face up to the problem of whether it is possible for one man to damage another man's chances for it—*e.g.*, by restricting the exercise of his freedom.

Christian teaching is generally to the contrary. How so? It postulates a free will. In doing so, it presupposes a psychological situation in which the intellect entertains conflicting "appetites," or "goods," as alternative courses of action—and turns them over to the will for selection. These alternatives are seldom, if ever, presented for judgment solely on their merits: the choice is invariably

"loaded" in the sense that every good carries along with it a certain amount of baggage—the sanctions imposed by habit, education, laws and what-not—that, in net effect, weights the scales toward one alternative or the other. The mystery of freedom which we feel, or take on faith, but cannot demonstrate is that in spite of these sanctions an element of spontaneity remains. And when this spontaneity (Christian teaching goes on) figures in the selection of the "greater" good over the "lesser" one, as determined by each man's conscience, merit accrues and a step has been taken toward salvation.

But this is simply another way of saying that morally significant choice is a *psychic* event. The good will is the will that adverts to the "better" object as defined by conscience; and it does not cease to be good when it is unable, because of external circumstances, to convert that psychic commitment into *action*. The good will of the man who wants to go to church on Sunday—and would if he could—is not defeated by the "circumstance" that the churches in his country have been shut down. Neither is his virtue diminished, nor his claim to salvation impaired. Moreover—a second dispensation—while the choice spectrum will vary widely from individual to individual both in quality and quantity (variances that can indeed be caused by external circumstances), such disparities are not significant in this context: the fact that the choices open to a Papuan are few and unappetizing to our own palates does not cheat him of reward—or penalty—for such choices as he *is* called upon to make.

What we are saying, then, is that *the freedom that is necessary to virtue is presumably a freedom no man will ever be without.* Morally significant freedom is merely an aspect of the human condition: it is indispensable, but it is also inalienable. The Soviet citizen is every bit as "free" to earn salvation as his American counterpart; he will "prove himself," or fail to, in an area that is beyond the reach of the KGB. And while there is nothing arresting about this presumption—surely it is among the most ordinary of theological commonplaces—it must have tremendous implications for political theory. *For if moral freedom is beyond the reach of politics, surely politics has better things to do than making the preservation of moral freedom its chief preoccupation.*

II

But perhaps *we* are moving too fast. Let us try to anticipate the fusionists' reply. They will not, I think, deny that salvation is what they have in mind. But they probably will protest that salvation was not *all* they have in mind. And the protest will very likely develop along these lines:

Granted that man's first purpose is to get to Heaven, and granted, too, that God's justice guarantees every man a fair opportunity to get there: still—God does not want to see a race of stunted men hobbling across the line. After all, man has some value *qua man.* He is brimming with potentialities for living, working, creating—for understanding: God made him that way; surely it is God's will that those potentialities be fulfilled. However—the voice of the Renaissance goes on—in order to explore, to understand, to realize these potentialities man must be free—free to walk the depths of hell or scale the pinnacles of sublimity *on his own two feet.* For society to try to assist man in this adventure, either with its hobbles or with its crutches, is to deny him the opportunity to be a whole man: a man. And by that token he is denied access to true virtue. As Meyer explains: "*the simulacrum*

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of virtuous acts brought about by the coercion of superior power, is not virtue, the meaning of which resides in the free choice of good over evil."

Very well. Let us agree for the moment that virtue is not necessarily to be equated with the merit that qualifies for salvation—that there is, in other words, a second order of virtue, which we may call humanistic virtue since it constitutes the fulfillment of man's human nature. Let us, however, make sure we understand the rules of the game of this second realm, as they are understood by Meyer and others who would have us accept libertarianism's "first principle." The question of divorce will do as well as any other for this purpose. Meyer, one gathers from his writings, takes a sacramental view of marriage, and so considers the preservation of it to be a virtuous act. He is therefore qualified to help us solve the following problem:

X, an American, has tired of his wife; under the laws of his state, he has ample grounds for divorce; remarriage prospects are bright; his friends and professional associates would be sympathetic with the decision. Yet, after duly considering such factors, he decides against a divorce on the grounds it is—"wrong."

Y, a Spaniard, has tired of *his* wife; Y is unable to get a divorce in his own country and to travel to France would impose a formidable economic burden; remarriage prospects in Spain, in any event, are nil; anyway, his religion forbids it—as does his whole tradition; what is more, he would face a heavy measure of social ostracism; in short, Y dismisses the idea without giving it a second thought. Query: by deciding to preserve his marriage, who—X or Y—has acted more virtuously? Meyer's answer (and who would disagree?): X of course. His decision was the tougher by far; Y's choice was almost reflexive, was not therefore really "free" at all.

Props of a Rational Society

And it follows—does it not?—that if we are seriously interested in maximizing opportunities for virtue, something will have to be done about Spain. Her laws, traditions, customs interfere with freedom. They are "crutches"—kick them away. And in the United States, conditions are not entirely satisfactory either. We will want to make our own divorce laws even laxer. We will also want to launch a public education campaign (privately endowed of course) aimed at breaking down residual social prejudices; and perhaps, to help overcome the mechanical difficulties, a special fund could be set aside for periodic newspaper notices advising dissatisfied spouses of the most convenient cut-rate agency or mail order house. We will do our best, in other words, to reduce the "constraints" of "superior power," confident that if Mr. X can stick by his guns under these conditions, he will really be virtuous. It is not that we favor divorce, mind you; it is just that we want virtuous men.

Is the *reductio ad absurdum* unfair? On the contrary: I submit that the inner logic of the dictum that virtue-not-freely-chosen is not virtue at all leads inescapably to the burlesque of reason we have suggested. If freedom is the "*first* principle" of the search for virtue, if as Meyer writes at another point, it is "the *precondition* of a good society," then, by definition, there is no superior principle that can be invoked, at any stage, against the effort to maximize freedom—there is no point at which men are entitled to *stop* hauling down the "props" which every rational society in history has erected to promote a virtuous citizenry. (True, the libertarian view permits measures for preserving the public order—the argument that no man should have the liberty to deny another man liberty; our point is that it permits none for the purpose of encouraging and aiding virtue.)

The libertarian may object that it is only *state* props that he wants to dismantle—that those created by tradition, custom, religion, in other words, are permissible under certain conditions. But on his own showing he has no business making such a distinction. There are, of course, vital differences between "state" and "social" sanctions, but they have no bearing on the argument in question here—namely, that maximum freedom of choice is essential to individual virtue. For as we have seen earlier, restriction of free choice consists in sanctions of various kinds that accompany alternative courses of action as they are presented to the will. But the relative strength of these sanctions, obviously, is not necessarily a function of their source. Social disapproval can be as persuasive a deterrent against scribbling on walls as the threat of a legal fine; habit and education will often "load" the choice against stealing far more effectively than the larceny laws. In short, libertarianism's first command—maximize freedom — applies with equal vigor to all of societies' activities; and the meaning of the command, in effect, is this: *virtue must be made difficult as possible.* While only a

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few men, if any, can be expected to meet the challenge successfully, the proliferation of unvirtuous acts in the objective order is one of the prices that must be paid for the fulfillment of heroic man. . . .

Now there is nothing to prevent the fusionists from arguing that this command is conducive, as Meyer puts it, to "a political and social order in accord with the constitution of being." But Meyer is not speaking of the constitution of being envisioned by the Christian metaphysic. If there is any metaphysical basis for such a view of life, it is the existentialism of Jean-Paul Sartre—the doctrine that man is all potentiality, *i.e.*, all freedom. In the existentialist view, man has no inherent nature—no essence—and therefore no end other than to work out a nature from his potentialities, each man for himself. In the beginning, this is an optimistic view of life, full of the spirit of individual adventure and creativity, and it ends in despair because the burden of autonomy—since it is not ordained by the true constitution of being—is too heavy.

The Christian metaphysic, by contrast, attributes to man a pre-formed nature, one that is ultimately defined transcendentally in terms of his origin and destiny. Man's nature, moreover, is totally integrated with that of the rest of being, so that a common effort is envisioned on the part of all creation to conform to what Evans calls the divine "patterns of order." *Man's* nature is such, however, that

he, uniquely among created beings, has the capacity to deviate from the patterns of order—to, as it were, repudiate his nature: *i.e.*, he is free. So viewed, freedom is hardly a blessing; add the ravages of original sin and it is the path to disaster. It follows that if individual man is to have any hope of conforming with his nature, he needs all of the help he can get. That is why the role of grace is so vital to the Christian view of things, not only supernatural grace, but the natural grace that springs forth from man's constructs: his institutions, his customs, his laws—the ones that have been inspired by his better angel and that remain in time to give nourishment to all of the human race. And that, in turn, is why the Christian view, which begins in despair, ends in optimism.

III

"Go . . . and teach all nations." These are the marching orders of Christianity, and, from a theological viewpoint, its central operational command. God's purpose, if we may put it so, is twofold: to give the widest possible access to supernatural grace —that is, to magnify the Christian Church; and to establish temporal conditions conducive to human virtue —that is, to build a Christian *civilization.* The latter purpose is the genesis and justification for the notion that Western civilization, being the historical fruit of the Incarnation—and so, in a manner of speaking, "God's civilization"—must be preserved at all costs, and itself magnified. There is not a drop of chauvinism in the idea, for it has to do entirely—as the classicists taught—with the relationship between the good commonwealth and the virtuous man. When a commonwealth builds according to the divine patterns of order, then it is in a position to help man conform to his nature, which is the meaning of virtue. The institutions the commonwealth promotes are the important thing—its family arrangements, its schools, its churches, the kind of government it has; for all of these combine to generate what Willmoore Kendall calls its public orthodoxy. Now to the extent a public orthodoxy tends to reflect the divine patterns of order, it also tends to encourage a virtuous citizenry. Of course such external inducements to virtue can never be entirely, or even very, successful: to suppose that through man's artifacts the human race, or any member of it, can be perfected in history is to partake of the modern gnosticism upon which both Liberalism and Communism are grounded. But such inducements can ease the way to virtue. That is the reason for the marching orders.

Degree of Merit

Which invites reconsideration of an earlier question: Is freedom an *a priori* requirement for virtue? We can agree that the freer the choice—*i.e.*, the more difficult it is—the greater the *merit.* But if, by definition, the virtuous act is one that conforms with man's nature, with the divine patterns of order—is the kind of heroic freedom envisioned by libertarian doctrine essential to such an act? Every day on his way to work *A* slips a dime to the blind lady at the street corner; it is pure habit with him. *B* supports his family as a matter of course; the thought of abandoning it to seek his own pleasure never crosses his mind. *C* buys a "worthwhile" novel at his book store, though —let us postulate such a weakness— if a well-advertised volume of pornography had not been banned by the state, he would have picked it up instead. Now these acts are, in turn —a) reflexive, b) instinctive, c) coerced by state power. Yet each of them, in itself, is a *virtuous* act if man's virtue consists in conducting himself in conformity with his nature, with the divine patterns of order.

We may go further. Since man will always have sufficient moral freedom, *i.e.*, sufficient occasions for "proving himself"—and even for doing so heroically; and since these occasions are basically traceable to his corruption, the ideal to which man should aspire is to *minimize* such occasions —to develop the kind of character that will generate virtuous acts as a matter of course. For as the mystics tell us, true sanctity is achieved only when man loses his freedom—when he is freed of the temptation to displease God.

IV

We may now turn to the second reason, on the fusionists' showing, why limitation of government power should be our "highest political objective." And we may agree that it *is* a "second" argument inasmuch as it proceeds from fundamentally different premises from those that posit political freedom as an absolute requirement for personal virtue. By the same token, however, it does not

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warrant the absolutist conclusions libertarians claim for it.

Mr. Evans puts the argument thus: " . . . the reign of appetite is most destructive, and the incentives and opportunities for its exercise most plentiful, when fallible man is endowed with unlimited power over his fellow beings. If a man is corrupted in mind and impulse, he is hardly to be trusted with the unbridled potencies of the state." Evans adds that the American Constitution reflects this view inasmuch as it is "premised upon a deep distrust of human nature and [is] designed to curb its excesses."

Now if we may read "the reign of appetite" to mean the ascendancy of non-virtue in the objective order (as opposed to the "reign" of personal sinfulness), then the argument that unlimited state power is conducive to that ascendancy is, other things being equal, unexceptionable. For now the argument is focused on *the effects unlimited power is likely to have on those who exercise it, and derivatively on the damage they are likely to do the commonwealth they govern.* And we are looking at nothing more than a restatement of Lord Acton's adage that "power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." But note that Acton did not try to convert this essentially *prudential* judgment about the dangers of government power into an absolute rule for restricting government power. He did not, that is to say—and neither should we—commit the elementary logical fallacy of turning the proposition, "the state that governs most will govern worst," into the proposition, "the state that governs least will govern best."

If the judgment is a prudential one, the question in every case will be: *Will this grant of this power, in this instance, for this object, produce a net good for the individual members of the commonwealth?* Such a question will take into account the objections libertarians regularly, and usually wisely, interpose to accretions of state power: government will do the job badly; one aggrandizement will lead to another; a concession today will make it harder to stand firm tomorrow; and so on. And a thousand times more often than not—given the kind of claims government makes these days—the prudent decision will be against the grant of power and in favor of leaving the individual and private groups on their own. But not always. The good commonwealth, taking the measure of its governors, and the prospects for their corruption, may charge them with, say, building roads, or maintaining a

postal system or passing anti-obscenity laws, or giving tax-exemption to its churches.

This is not to say (for I would hope not to be understood as endorsing theocracy) that the good commonwealth will charge the state with *discovering* and *defining* the elements of virtue. Rather, it will look upon the state merely as one potential instrument among many others for articulating and thus defending the community consensus about such things; and while prudence will dictate severe limitations even on this role, prudence does not go so far, I am saying, as to forbid acknowledgment of God's existence in the state's schools.

Once we have decided to view the dangers of state power as but one element among others—a very important one, to be sure—in a prudential judgment about the requirements of the good commonwealth, we have made considerable headway in our thinking about how to build such a commonwealth. We have, that is to say, liberated the discussion from the ideological strait jacket in which libertarian dogma confines it—the dogma about the "natural functions" of the state. These are, as Meyer never tires of telling us, [1] *the preservation of domestic peace and order,* [2] *the administration of justice, and* [3] *defense against foreign enemies.*" Any activities beyond these three, according to the argument, are by definition—and so without further discussion—evil.

I do not think Meyer or the other fusionists will ever be able to explain to the uninitiated the mystery of the trinitarian state—except, possibly, in terms of the argument for heroic freedom we have already considered. They will certainly not be able to explain on the strength of an organic view of man and society why, *e.g.*, it is "natural" for the state to lock up a thief, and "unnatural" for the state to launch a program against juvenile delinquency. Nor—assuming that what actually happens in the real world has some bearing on what is "natural"—can they realistically hypothesize future conditions under which the trinitarian concept will be adopted; nor point to any past moment in history when men have actually organized a society in this way; nor cite any serious thinker in back of the nineteenth century who has suggested men try to do so. In short, the dogma of ritualistic libertarianism is hardly less far from reality than that of ritualistic Liberalism, and it presents the same kind of barriers to acquiring wisdom about the good commonwealth.

Distribution of Power

This is perhaps the place to nail the notion, so often advanced by the fusionists, that the American Constitution is an expression of the libertarian-traditionalist compromise—*i.e.*, that in the name of accommodating human nature, the Constitution underwrites the archly limited state. On the face of it, it is the purest fancy to suggest that American constitutional theory has anything in common with the libertarian teaching about the threefold function of the *genus* state. The individual American States, let us remember, marched into the Constitutional Convention with *full sovereign powers*—the three Meyer mentions plus several dozen others he does not; and the problem to which the convention delegates so brilliantly addressed themselves was how to organize and distribute those powers so as to promote their most beneficial exercise. The framers' governing principle was, of course, the

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one often attributed to Madison: that concentration of power leads to its abuse. And the remedy they invoked was also Madison's: the way to block the pernicious ambitions of "factions," Madison argued, is to distribute power as widely as possible within clearly defined boundaries. (While it is true that subsequent judicial construction of the Constitution, making the Bill of Rights applicable to the the States, seems to place some powers altogether out of bounds—even these proscriptions are not absolute, as a glance at the Constitution's amending clause will quickly verify.)

Under the American system of government, in other words, the *genus* state—with its municipal, state, and national offices, and its popular residuary—potentially has plenary powers. Felicitously, under the original concept, these powers were distributed in a fashion that closely approximates the principle of subsidiarity—the idea that the quest for the common good begins with the individual man and will ascend to increasingly collectivized levels only under necessity, and always with a prudential concern for the dangers of going higher. In short, much freedom was envisioned by the founders of such a system because freedom is highly useful in achieving the good commonwealth. But there is not a hint of the ideology of freedom in what they produced—not a word suggesting that freedom is *the goal* of the commonwealth.

It is a mistake to make demi-gods out of the framers, or to read as a piece of scripture what they wrote. But, as perhaps the only group of men in modern history to have set their minds to the task of constructing a commonwealth on the basis of prudence, and therefore free from ideology, they deserve considerable reverence, and are a fit object for imitation.

V

A word is in order about "economic freedom," and how it figures in the fusionist effort to strike a compromise between libertarians and traditionalists. I think we shall find here a palpable instance of our general thesis, namely that the "compromise" in question invariably consists in borrowing from the libertarians their principles and programs, and from the traditionalists the divine *imprimatur*. We shall also discover, unless I am badly mistaken, the historical explanation for modern Western man's, as opposed, say, to Renaissance man's, enshrinement of freedom as First Principle.

The "Sharon Statement"

The "Sharon Statement," the charter document of the Young Americans for Freedom, is perhaps the best-known attempt by the fusionists to link libertarian economic premises with transcendent truth, undoubtedly because it makes the point so starkly. The Statement begins by asserting that the "individual's use of his God-given free will" is "foremost among the transcendent values." The freedom so exercised, moreover, "is indivisible . . . political freedom cannot long exist without economic freedom." Or, as the point is put later on: "the market economy is the single economic system compatible with the requirements of personal freedom"—which means, since personal freedom is the end-all and be-all, that the market economy itself, in the words of the Statement's preamble, is an "eternal truth."

Now of course, we are looking at a political manifesto, and so might expect imprecisions. However, the Statement cannot be seriously faulted on that score: the general sense of the argument—actually there are two arguments—is entirely faithful to fusionist teaching.

The first is an argument from definition; we may restate it, along with certain difficulties it seems to present, as follows: 1) *Use of God-given free will is the foremost transcendent value.* The fallacy: How, as we asked earlier, can an inevitability be a "value," let alone a *transcendent* value, let alone the *foremost* transcendent value? And the objection here is to substance, not to syntax. The idea that freedom *in abstractu* is the human activity chiefly honored in heaven is the first and indispensable step of every attempt to herd God into Manchester. 2) *Every act of freedom has supreme value, the choice of a Rambler over a Ford no less than the choice of good over evil: freedom is indivisible.* (If 2 is an unfair inference from 1, the rest of the fusionist argument is unintelligible.) The further fallacy? The notion that all freedoms are equal. Freedom does have value, but its value is adducible only in terms of the objectives it serves. And to suppose we are unable to distinguish and discriminate between such objectives on the basis of their value is to repudiate the very idea of value. 3) *In matters where economic considerations are relevant, the market economy is the only system that respects the supremacy of freedom.* The fallacy? The assumption that economic freedoms are the only freedoms at stake in market decisions. 4) *The rules of the market have divine sanction.* The fallacy? There is none; if 1, 2 and 3 are valid, 4 follows indisputably. All *mixed questions—i.e.,* those involving social, political or moral problems, in addition to economic ones—may be answered by libertarian economics; nay *must* be, as the fusionists insist, on the authority of the Lord.

The second argument is that "political freedom cannot long exist without economic freedom." The rhetorical expedient here, a favorite with libertarians for as long as I can remember, is to convert the modern apotheosis of political freedom into a mandate for economic freedom via an argument from circumstance: since experience has shown that the two freedoms are intertwined, if Mrs. Roosevelt wishes people to enjoy the first, she must agree to let them have the second also.

Political vs *Economic Freedom*

Now there is no denying the argument's usefulness in conservative-Liberal polemics; but is it, in the Euclidian terms in which it is typically advanced, true? Let us define political freedom as the freedom to participate in the making of public policy, and economic freedom as the freedom to invest wealth, labor and ideas in economic enterprises. Economic freedom in England is severely restricted, but I do not know of any political freedoms that have lapsed during the course of English socialization, nor of any that are in greater danger of lapsing today than they were in 1945. The same is true of the United States. Indeed, given the current lay of public sentiment, I fail to see how one can gainsay

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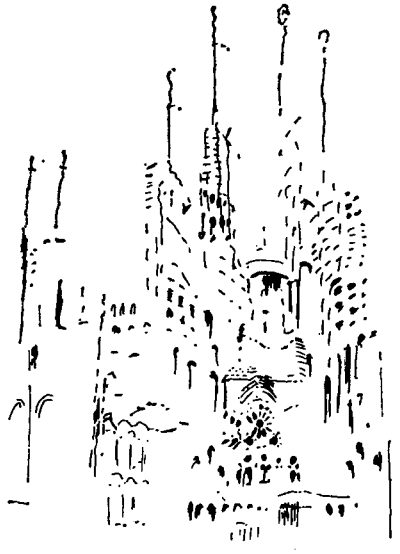
the general sense of Professor Auerbach's contention that the only way to increase economic freedom in our country is to restrict the political freedom of the people who advocate and vote for the economic restrictions. In a word, men can exercise their political freedom *against* their economic freedom, and they have done so in most Western countries for many years with great injury to economic freedom but practically none at all to political freedom. And looking at the problem the other way around, it is a safe prediction that an elimination of economic controls in, say, Spain could be brought about without the slightest diminution of the Franco regime's political controls. (Similarly with the alleged connection between economic freedom and "other" — *i.e.*, non-political or "personal" — freedoms. The actual relation depends on the circumstances a) whether the men to whom economic power has been transferred are disposed to curtail freedom generally, and b) whether the objectives of the freedoms in question are interrelated; and while in many cases these circumstances will set in motion a cumulative erosion of freedom, in other cases, demonstrably, they will not.)



If the link between economic and other freedoms is thus tenuous, and if freedom, in any event, is difficult to translate into a "transcendent value," the real reason libertarians assign absolute value to economic freedom probably lies elsewhere. And I suspect that the explanation is as simple—and as ominous for the future of conservatism—as a group hangover from the century when the argument about the interdependency of freedoms was exactly reversed: when, that is to say, instead of demanding economic freedom for the sake of political and other freedoms, libertarians demanded the other freedoms for the sake of economic freedom. And the latter argument, given *its* premises, *did* make sense. For if it is true, as the nineteenth century came increasingly to believe, that the chief good to which society can aspire is maximum satisfaction of man's material wants, there is no denying the claims of the classical economists; maximum freedom for everyman to invest his wealth, labor and ideas in economic enterprises does provide maximum satisfactions; and the only question left open is whether this is what life is really about. Let me not be misunderstood. The claims of the free market are strong: satisfaction of material wants is *a* good; the qualities of initiative and self-reliance, an awareness of personal responsibility —the sheer pleasure of freedom; these are also goods. But they are not the only goods, nor even the greatest. And the commonwealth that treats them as though they were—and so uses the market economy as the yardstick for measuring its virtuousness in "mixed" matters as well as strictly economic ones—is not going to get very far toward virtue.

VI

Which is to suggest our answer to the question posed earlier: Is the libertarian "emphasis" in the conservative movement worth fretting about? Before submitting a general answer, however, it will be well to summarize the position we have been content to call "traditionalist":

1. *The* goal of man is virtue—the fulfillment of the potentialities of his God-oriented nature. Man's purpose therefore is to seek virtue. God rewards or punishes depending on how individual man, each judged in the context of his peculiar circumstances, conducts the quest.

2. The chief purpose of politics is to aid the quest for virtue. Man's corruption necessitates many such aids. The peculiar function of politics is to create a commonwealth whose institutions—one of which is the state—will reflect as nearly as possible the ideal values of truth, beauty and goodness, and so help instill them as real values in the consciousness of its citizens.

3. Political (and economic) freedoms are, in this sense, "institutions" which the prudent commonwealth will adopt in such measure as they are conducive to the virtue of its citizens.

4. Free will inheres in human nature as a *condition* of each man's personal quest for virtue. Without it, the quest could not take place—movement toward the goal would be impossible. Without it, no less important, the quest would be unnecessary —the goal would be at hand. Short of the goal, no man will lack opportunity for exercising free will. As the goal approaches, the occasions for exercising it will diminish, as it merges into the will of God.

5. The urge to freedom for its own sake is, in the last analysis, a rebellion against nature; it is the urge to be free from God.

Modern history, broadly considered, is the history of this urge, the odyssey of what Richard Weaver has called "the flight from center." This is not the place to labor the details of the development—the revolt of Renaissance Man, the effort to justify the revolt through the scepticism of Rationalist Man, the final ejection of God from the world by Enlightenment Man, the inevitable drawing of conclusions by Materialist and Positivist Man, the eventual despair of Existentialist Man—the diabolical reaction of Communist Man. It is enough to see that libertarianism, however innocent and generous its motives, is a part of this process, and a stage of its development.

What is the Promise?

To put the matter in its simplest terms, *the nineteenth century with its antecedents produced the twentieth century, and was incapable of producing any other kind of century.* Therefore the question that needs asking, as I see it, is whether the modern conservative movement—as long as it is saddled with the notion that freedom comes first and virtue second—has anything substantially *different* to offer from its nineteenth-century precursor? If it does not, can

(Continued on p. 206)

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Letter from London

Mr. Macmillan's Broom

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

The Members of Parliament have gone off on their holidays, gasping from one of the hottest political dramas I can ever remember in peacetime. The warning thunder came a few weeks ago with those by-elections in which the Conservatives were humiliated and the moribund Liberal Party showed spectacular signs of new life. Mr. Macmillan, if he were not simply to accept defeat by the Socialists at the next General Election, clearly had to do something to rescue his Government from deepening unpopularity.

On Friday, the 13th of July, he struck. Without warning—even the people concerned had only a few hours to adjust their expressions—he sacked seven Cabinet Ministers. A few days later, he followed this first purge with a massive re-shuffle in the lower ranks of government.

Mr. Macmillan, belying his tired manner and drooping eyelids and old-fashioned clothes, had acted more swiftly and ruthlessly than any Prime Minister this century. The newspapers dripped with bloodthirsty metaphors. The Socialists purported to be shocked and compared what had happened with the worst excesses of the Kremlin. "Greater love hath no man than this," commented Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, the Liberal MP, "that he should lay down his friends for his life."

Among the sacked Ministers were indeed some of Mr. Macmillan's oldest colleagues. He is said to have found the executions so distasteful that he was physically sick between interviews: but his hand did not waver on the axe, which fell with the loudest thud on the long-suffering neck of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd.

Never has Mr. Lloyd been as popular as he is today. He was Foreign Secretary during the Suez *débacle* and Chancellor of the Exchequer throughout the abortive "pay pause." Almost everybody agreed he should be sacked—until he was sacked, and then they wept for him. Mr. Lloyd had been trying, however clumsily, to hold back the tide of inflation. In spite of official denials, his departure almost certainly means a change of policy. We are in for a deliberate dose of what is horribly called "reflation."

When the blood and sand had been swept away, it was possible to look dispassionately at the new team: and the new team is undoubtedly much stronger than the old. There are exceptions, of course—Mr. Randolph Churchill said publicly that the promotion of the Attorney General, Sir Reginald Mannigham-Buller, to be Lord Chancellor was "an insult to the legal profession"—but for all-round intellectual capacity this Government has probably had no equal since before the First World War. Its political complexion is leftist, for Mr. Macmillan is hoping to entice Liberal voters.

At two highly charged, secret meetings he pacified—for the moment—his own seething followers. In Parliament he turned aside the Labor Party's motion of censure with consummate skill. But he stands now on a razor's edge. If his ruthlessness pays off, if he can restore yet again his Party's flagging fortunes, he should be classed with Disraeli among the very greatest Tory Prime Ministers. If he fails, he will not be forgiven.

The Conservative Party really is starting, quietly, subterraneously almost, to adapt its philosophy to new conditions. The most stubborn problem is still inflation. Mr. Macmillan talks about an incomes' policy and is setting up another committee to give advice: but, he hastens to add, this committee will be powerless. He asked optimistically for trade union cooperation, but the trade unions turned coldly away. The plain fact is that no Government can check inflation without curbing the unions, and no Government dares touch them. The present line of thought seems to be that by constantly expanding the economy you can at least mop up a proportion of rising wage-costs; therefore we must have "reflation."

An even more far-reaching and urgent issue, now coming to its climax, is that of Britain's possible entry into the Common Market. Strong, though often confused and ill-informed, opinions have finally begun to build up and polarize. They cut clean across the normal Conservative and Socialist Party lines, but Mr. Macmillan's personal credit is deeply involved. He knows that this is much more than a matter of trade and tariffs. New configurations of power are shaping themselves in the world, and what is at stake is Britain's part in them. Mr. Macmillan has now surrounded himself with the team best suited, as he hopes, to meet these problems.

Most textbooks on the British Constitution are grossly out of date. Parliament is said to be the supreme power, but Parliament long ago ceased to have any real power. The rigidity of the party system has turned MP's into mere rubber stamps for Cabinet decisions. The deliberations of the Cabinet are secret: its decisions are supposed to be collective and unanimous. But it is, in fact, the Prime Minister who gets his way. The Prime Minister of Great Britain has thus achieved a power as absolute as that of the American President, and with no independent Congress to restrain him.

This is the system, let us note, which we have been blithely exporting to the new nations of Africa and Asia under the comfortable label of democracy. Not without reason have minority groups there regarded it as a fraud, a device for their permanent subjection. When Mr. Macmillan holds a purge, its victims at least retain their seats on the back benches of the House of Commons. The victims of an African purge are likely to find themselves in exile or behind barbed wire.

Right up to the morning of July 13th, Mr. Macmillan's enemies were blaming him for being old and tired and inactive. Now they blame him for callousness and haste, for bundling his Ministers out of the Cabinet and Britain into Europe. He may not succeed in what he is trying to do: but he is trying very hard and very shrewdly.

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Angola: Terrorists on the Run

Intelligently planned and executed counter-measures have swung the people of Angola against the rebels and just about neutralized their offensive

RONALD WARING

Up to March of last year, Angola was just a name on the map of Africa to most people. The United Nations operation in the Congo had been running for six months when Angola burst suddenly, and horribly, into the news headlines. In a three-week period terrorist bands, slipping across the northern frontier from the Congo, slaughtered eight thousand Africans and over one thousand Europeans. These terrorists, deliberately drugged with hashish, which grows wild all over the lower Congo, committed such unbelievable atrocities that they are hard to credit: women raped to death, children with their eyes gouged out left to wander until they died, men sawn up slowly on circular saws, women and children crucified or burned alive, cannibalism, ritual murder and horrible parodies of Christian rites in which human blood and flesh as well as drugs and alcohol took the place of the Christian sacrament. This was primitive savagery whipped up to frenzy by witch-doctors, but directed for political ends.

Little enough of all this came out in the world press. In its place there were stories of gallant nationalist fighters for independence, photographs of Holden Roberto, who was described as the Angolan liberation leader, and a spate of stories of bloody Portuguese reprisals. Certain missionaries charged Portuguese authorities with wholesale massacres of Africans; stories of refugees flooding into the Congo to escape brutal Portuguese terror abounded.

In the United Nations, the Afro-Asians and the Communists vociferously denounced Portuguese colonialism; they called for an end of "the brutal suppression of the natural aspirations of the Angolan people for independence and liberty." The left-wing press in Europe painted pathetic pictures of a sullen and resentful African population in Angola sweating under the yoke of hated European colonialism, of a population subject to forced labor and controlled only by club-wielding soldiers and police. The terrorism was transformed overnight into a movement for National Liberty and the terrorists themselves into freedom fighters. In a fine burst of enthusiasm one missionary even claimed the Portuguese had massacred more Africans than there are in northern Angola! And journalists, who were never closer to the actual scene of operations than Léopoldville, wrote harrowing stories of the napalm bombing of villages by the Portuguese Air Force and the indiscriminate shooting of thousands of innocent people.

In the United Nations General Assembly, Portugal was openly condemned, accused of genocide, and sanctions were demanded against her. Some Afro-Asian states went so far as to call for military action. Portugal's NATO allies, turning against her, refused to sell her arms with which to defend her territories, and Adlai Stevenson placed the United States' vote alongside those of the Soviet Union, the satellites and the Afro-Asians in formally condemning Portugal in the United Nations.

All this is history: the truth still remains to be told and to do so is not easy. I was the first foreigner to be able to travel freely in Northern Angola after the trouble broke out. I was actually present in many of the places where massacres were supposed to have taken place. I traveled with Portuguese Army patrols, interviewed captured terrorists, took part in operations, listened to the stories of both Portuguese settlers and native Angolans whose families had been butchered by the terrorists. I interviewed the Governor General and Commander-in-Chief and my story was carried by one of the great international news agencies. But, significantly, not a single newspaper in America picked it up; not one in Italy, or in France, or in Scandinavia or even in Britain. The reason, so I was informed, was that what I had written was contrary to public opinion on the subject. But if the real truth had been known, it would have been difficult for Mr. Stevenson to vote against Portugal in the UN General Assembly. That vote has left Portu-

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gal with a bitter taste in her mouth toward America, let there be no mistake about it. The Portuguese feel that they have been betrayed by an old friend.

It is a technique of modern times for the victim to become the aggressor. Thus we have "Peoples' Volunteer Peace Brigades" which are in reality conscript soldiers used for aggression. The Ministry of War becomes the Ministry of Peace and the naked aggressor proclaims to the world at large that he is acting only in self-defense after unbearable provocation. There has seldom if ever been a more flagrant case of misrepresentation than that of Portuguese actions in Angola, and in the light of the charges, it is interesting to examine the facts.

A Special Relationship

The Portuguese have been in Angola for nearly 500 years. They arrived in fact before the present Bantu population, which invaded the country from the North sometime after the Portuguese settlement. For considerable periods of its history there were virtually no European troops in Angola at all. When the terrorism broke out last March the Portuguese had just 2,000 troops and 700 policemen (half of whom were Africans) to look after a territory one-seventh the size of Europe. The Portuguese have maintained all along that a special relationship existed between them and the African populations in Angola and Mozambique. They refused to be alarmed by the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya, or by the chaos in the Congo, maintaining that this sort of thing could never happen to them. And in a sense they were right. There was no reason why last year's well prepared terrorist attacks should not have spread all over the country as undoubtedly they were intended to do. There were virtually no troops on hand to contain outbreaks and the terrorists had demonstrated how pitifully easy it was to murder unarmed Europeans and plunder their houses, shops and plantations. But in spite of promises, of threats, and of violent reprisals against those who refused to help, only about half of one per cent of the population of Angola joined the terrorist movement and the trouble was confined to a comparatively small area in the North. Given the opportunity to murder and plunder the Europeans, and threatened with terrible reprisals if they did not do so, more than 99 per cent of the African population refused to have anything to do with the terrorists and many of them actually fought against them.

It was not by brutal reprisals that Portugal managed to keep the Angolan population in hand. At least not if one is to believe the report of an official British Commission which went to Angola in July of 1961 to investigate the reprisal stories. It consisted of the British Military Attaché in Lisbon, the British Air Attaché in Madrid, and the British Consul General in Luanda. The Commission reported that it had been unable to find any evidence to support the lurid charges made by missionaries and newspaper correspondents. Responsible journalists, such as George Martelli and Richard Beeston of the *Daily Telegraph,* reported that they could find no evidence to support the charges made against the Portuguese, and four British Members of Parliament—both Laborite and Conservative—who also visited Angola after the uprising have stated, categorically, that, in spite of minute enquiries, they could find no evidence of Portuguese reprisals.

It stands to reason that a small European population which, after the initial massacres on the outlying farms, had been herded together in small towns and villages armed only with a few shotguns and sporting rifles and subjected to daily attacks, could hardly have gone roving through the country burning and killing innocent Africans. They didn't have the weapons; they were at times perilously short of shells for their sporting guns; and more, they were cut off completely from each other since the terrorists had burned the bridges and destroyed communications. The few soldiers Portugal had on the scene were guarding Luanda and the major cities and there was no hope of immediate reinforcements. The terrorists, by the hundreds, lurked in the thickets and jungles, and to venture outside the precarious security of the towns and villages was to court immediate death. Yet, we are told that it was at this time that "the Portuguese massacred hundreds of thousands of innocent Africans."

What did happen was that when troops started arriving from Portugal, some of the settlers and loyal Africans, whose families had been butchered and tortured to death with refined cruelty, went on the rampage. These were isolated, private acts of revenge which undoubtedly took place but which were in short order stopped by the Army which, when it proved necessary, did not hesitate to disarm the European settlers.

To transport an army 5,000 miles, to rearm and re-equip it for jungle war, was a considerable problem, but by the end of July of last year the military build-up was sufficient to start a major offensive. In little over eight weeks the three main terrorist strongholds in Pedra Verde, the Serra de Canda and Nambuangongo were cleared out. Army units pushing up country in the face of constant ambushes and night attacks drove back the terrorists, reoccupying village after village. By the middle of October the Governor General was able to announce the reoccupation of the whole country and the end of any organized terrorist resistance. Today the military situation is such that in practically the whole of northern Angola it is possible to travel freely, unarmed and without an escort. There are a few areas where it is still dangerous to do so; where small groups of terrorists still hold out, occasionally ambushing a military patrol. But their morale is poor and they lack aggressive spirit.

And yet, we are still told "the nationalists" are in effective control of "thousands of square miles of northern Angola." In actual fact the area in question consists of a strip of tangled elephant grass, of jungle, limestone caves and swamp about 70 miles long by 25 miles wide. In this region there are certain concentrations of terrorist gangs. To clean them out will be difficult, given the terrain, the desire of Portuguese authorities to limit casualties and the fact that the terrorists now have modern automatic weapons. For the most part these originally belonged to the old *Force Publique* in the Belgian Congo, but the rebels are also equipped with Swedish, Indian, Ethiopian and other weapons which have been either

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stolen from, or sold by, United Nations forces stationed in the Congo.

Many of the terrorists are disillusioned and have surrendered. Frequently terrorist gangs fight between themselves and then banquet off the dead. Some of the more intelligent have been to Léopoldville and have seen for themselves that there is a very marked difference between their life of hardship and danger and the life their chiefs are leading in luxurious villas, waited on by staffs of servants, and occasionally flying to international conferences in United Nations aircraft.

Terrorism has become big business: to exploit it fully it is necessary to have a) one openly Communist party (in this case Mario Andrade's MPLA) and b) one party supported by certain elements in America (Holden Roberto's UPA). The possibilities of bidding up the stakes between Russia and America are almost limitless, and much of the money that flows in is not necessarily spent in forwarding the liberation cause. It is hardly surprising that there are now some fourteen smaller "Angolan Liberation" organizations centered in Léopoldville, all hoping for crumbs and all squabbling amongst themselves.

Smoldering Pot

The problem of sealing the 1,300 mile long frontier with the Congo is practically insoluble. The matted elephant grass, jungle and swamp makes aerial observation impossible and terrorist gangs will continue to infiltrate into Angola for just as long as there exist funds to pay them, and dupes who will risk their lives for a few thousand francs. They can achieve no military victory against more than 45,000 Portuguese troops now in Angola, and they know it. Their leaders, however, wish to keep the pot of terrorism smoldering sufficiently to ensure the continued flow of funds from their backers, and to await events in other parts of Africa.

Another reason the terror campaign collapsed is peculiar to Angola. When the trouble started many thousands of Africans in northern Angola took to the bush and some crossed the river into the Congo. This is their traditional method of avoiding trouble: they were scared of the terrorists, and with good reason. They knew too what the terrorists had done to the European settlers and they feared indiscriminate European retaliation. So they abandoned their villages and vanished into the limitless sea of elephant grass.

Portuguese authorities realized the terrorism could never be suppressed without the active cooperation of the Africans. Troops were told this on disembarkation. It was emphasized that their duty was to protect all citizens of Angola, irrespective of color or creed. The recuperation of these

thousands who had fled into the bush was also made a first priority. It is greatly to the credit of the Army and the very brave officers who went, often alone and unarmed, into the bush to parley with frightened and suspicious tribesmen, that it has been accomplished in an incredibly short space of time. It was not easy to convince the Africans that the Army could and would protect them not only against the terrorists but also against any acts of private vengeance by settlers or loyal Africans—but this was done.

In the past seven months about 200,000 Africans have returned to their villages under the protection of the Portuguese Army, abandoning a near animal existence in the jungle. This operation, which was carried out with humanity and intelligence, has paid a most handsome dividend. For these tribesmen are now actively cooperating with the military.

During the rains, the terrorists had relied on these refugees for information about the movement of Portuguese patrols. They got food from them, forced them to dig vehicle traps, to haul supplies and, occasionally, to carry arms and fight. Any attempt at resistance was answered by immediate and bloody massacre. It was a very great blow to the terrorists when these thousands of Africans streamed back to their villages and took up their normal lives again. A guerrilla force, if it is to operate at all successfully, must have the support of at least a part of the civilian population. This can be induced by genuine sympathy, or by fear, but it must be there. Today in Angola, there is little popular support for the rebels, and this has been a severe blow to them.

Angola has virtually returned to normal, and on every side there is evidence of a growing economy: roads are being built, airfields constructed, the electricity and telephone network expanded, port facilities improved, new areas opened up. About 30 per cent of the troops stationed there have asked to be demobilized in Angola at the end of the emergency so that they have become settlers, marry locally or bring out their families. Eighteeen months ago 45 per cent of the administrative personnel of the province were Africans and that number is likely to be increased substantially. Recent legislation has abolished the contract labor system and provided for greater development and use of native Angolan talent. The future is bright, schools, hospitals, new business enterprises are springing up everywhere, but there is a shadow over the sun.

None of this suits the Communists whose policy in Africa is to create chaos. Nor does it suit the Afro-Asians who oppose all colonial regimes and many of whose leaders are racists. Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah has made his intentions as regards Angola only too clear. "Peoples Volunteers" for Angola are being trained in other new African states and armed with Czech weapons. A cadre of terrorists, trained in Tunisia by Algerian FLN veterans, has recently set up shop in the Congo with the blessings of the Adoula government and only last week this group announced publicly that it was opening a training camp to instruct Angolan rebels in the techniques of subversion: everything from demolition to assassination. Indian troops in the Congo have openly boasted that when Katanga has been cleared up and Tshombe hanged, Angola will be next.

Meanwhile in the UN General Assembly, Stevenson votes with the Communist and Afro-Asian countries against Portugal, and Portugal's other allies in NATO shamefacedly abstain from voting or follow the lead of America. We may one day find out that it is easier to lose old and trusted friends in Europe than to make true friends among the Afro-Asians.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

What To Do About Textbooks

From primary readers to manuals for college seniors, American textbooks—taken in the gross, and gross they are—remain sorry enough, despite all the protest about the quality of American schooling that has gone on for more than a decade. I have reviewed some fifty high school and junior high school textbooks in various disciplines fairly recently; and only three or four of these both contain something for the mind and are fairly impartial. The question is, can people interested in reform do anything about improvement in this realm? Yes, a good deal. I suggest the following courses of action.

Kirk

First, read carefully the books that are used in your district's schools. If some of them seem inadequate, civilly invite the attention to them of your local superintendent or principal, or the members of your local school board. Be sure you know what you are talking about, of course, before you do so.

Second, do what you can to improve the list of textbooks approved by the state department of public instruction. Most states have such lists, from which local school authorities much choose; some states have state-wide adoptions of standard textbooks. If you find some textbooks biased or intellectually discreditable, write to your state department of instruction—and make it an intelligent and temperate letter, of course, not a Philippic.

Third, write to the publishers of textbooks, commending good ones and criticizing inferior ones. Ordinarily you will get back a bland letter stating that Professor Ira Higgins, of the School of Education of Dismal Swamp A & M, has heartily endorsed this book; and its author, Dr. Harry Mugg of Behemoth University, took his doctorate at Podunk University and is a well-reputed authority in his field. But drops of water do wear away stones; the publishers really pay heed to protests; and sensible criticisms, sensibly expressed, can carry weight.

Fourth, whenever possible, try to secure the local adoption of superior textbooks. I rejoice to report that the Open Court Publishing Company soon will commence the publication of a series of school readers edited by Professor Arther Trace, of John Carroll University, which promises to be the best in the field. Dr. Trace is the author of *What Ivan Knows that Johnny Doesn't;* and he knows what needs to be done to restore some literacy and imagination through the run of basic readers.

Fifth, obtain advice, when you can, as to which textbooks may be commended and which ones sternly criticized. Sometimes you may be able to obtain recommendations from the Council on Basic Education, 725 15th Street, N.W., Washington 5, D.C.; and a considerable number of reviews of particular manuals may be obtained for a quarter apiece from America's Future, Inc., 542 Main Street, New Rochelle, New York.

Anti-intellectual Attitudes

What accounts for the low quality and anti-intellectual attitudes of so many textbooks? Physically, these books are admirable, for the most part; and they are very lucrative indeed for their publishers and authors. But publishers and authors seem interested *only* in format. The other day I reviewed one of the least adequate books in its field, *Freedom's Frontier: A History of Our Country,* by Clark, Compton, and Hendrickson (Lyons and Carnahan, Chicago). Chapter 33 of this fuzzy junior high school textbook contains a long passage of special pleading for the cause of Educationism, including the following gem:

> Do not be disturbed if perchance you hear adults bemoaning the fact that modern education is not nearly so good as when *they* were in school. . . There have been many recent improvements in education besides the construction of modern buildings. If you could compare a modern textbook with one in use even a quarter of a century ago, you would notice great improvement in everything that makes a good book: type, illustrations, paper, binding, and quality of writing. Publishers of textbooks are improving their products as definitely as the manufacturers of automobiles.

Considering the numerous mechanical defects that everyone encounters in cars nowadays, and what a short time it is before cars go off to automobile graveyards, this specimen of brainwashing unintentionally damns with faint praise.

In plain fact, these textbooks are far inferior in "quality of writing" to those of a generation ago; and as for accuracy, comprehensiveness, and impartiality—qualities that the authors of *Freedom's Frontier* do not think worthy of mention—many of the textbooks presently in use throughout our schools can only be described as despicable.

Why don't these manuals offer much for the mind, then? For one thing, the writing of a textbook is a boring business, and it is difficult to persuade first-rate scholars and writers to spend their time in such tedium. So these influential works are left to the third-rate professor or teacher, too often. Or when some well-known scholar is persuaded to lend his name to a school textbook, frequently he lends his name only—and the real work, almost all of it, is wretchedly executed by some assistant on the publisher's staff, or some high-school teacher collaborator. Also the staff of the average textbook-publishing company is well infiltrated by members of the interlocking directorate of the Deweyites, soaked in the doctrines of Progressivism and Permissivism.

Even a few thousand intelligent criticisms could work wonders in this difficulty. Get busy.

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A Real Frontier for JFK

M. STANTON EVANS

The history of international Communism since 1918 has been one of almost uninterrupted global expansion—a fact which vastly increases the likelihood of still further expansion in the future. In the Cold War, as in most forms of competition, nothing succeeds like success. The logical effect of the Kremlin's repeated victories is to exalt its partisans, to draw time-servers and international trimmers into the Soviet orbit, and to instill a profound defeatism into the counsels of the West.

Khrushchev's vaunting "We will bury you" is thus a species of self-fulfilling prophecy. Communism moves brazenly and surefootedly to consume new victims, because its lust for conquest feeds upon the assurance of success; while the free world, paralyzed by forebodings of doom, seems incapable of acting to forestall the promised burial. The more we retreat before the Communist onslaught, the more powerful our adversary seems to become; the more powerful he becomes, the more urgent becomes the necessity to retreat.

To cut this Gordian knot of Western frustrations is no easy task. Although the Communist rhetoric of indomitable strength is shot through with fallacy, the business of debunking it, while simultaneously accounting for its amazing progress to date, requires a subtlety and expertise that seem to be in scant supply among the leaders of the free world. To fathom our difficulties, and to prescribe appropriate remedies, demand not only a strategic grasp of the struggle as a whole, but a sure knowledge of facts about the zones in which it is being waged.

The New Frontier of War, by William R. Kintner and Joseph Z. Kornfeder. Regnery, $7.50

This is the labor to which William R. Kintner and Joseph Z. Kornfeder address themselves in *The New Frontier of War*. They bring to it combined skills and sources of information which uniquely qualify them to provide us with some of the answers we need. Dr. Kintner, formerly a battalion commander in Korea and a faculty member of the Command and General Staff College, is a specialist in the strategy of "protracted conflict," and was a co-author of the celebrated Foreign Policy Research Institute book of that name; Mr. Kornfeder was once a high-level functionary of the American Communist Party and is intimately acquainted with both Communist techniques and Communist vulnerabilities.

The net conclusion of their study is that Communism has been winning the world, not by virtue of its own power, but by default of its opposition. By material standards, the United States and the free world are considerably stronger than the Soviet Union; but Soviet tactics of confusion and attrition have served to neutralize anti-Communist strength, while Soviet daring and initiative have devised new techniques of aggression which anti-Communists are slow to understand and combat. The failure of the West is thus not one of physical strength, but of mind and morale. From the fall of the Winter Palace to the surrender of Nam Tha, non-Communists have clung to the delusion that compromise, negotiation, and "peaceful coexistence" with Bolshevism were possible and desirable. And that delusion has invariably disarmed them in the face of Communist aggression.

For brief periods following some flamboyant infamy, as in Hungary or Berlin, the illusion of Communist "reasonableness" recedes, and Western leaders begin to speak in terms of a battle for survival. But because the will to effective action is absent, no permanent resolves are taken, and no counterattack is launched. The initiative remains with the Kremlin; the West continues to flounder without purpose or system, and at last subsides again into its fatal reverie of accommodation.

MESSRS. Kintner and Kornfeder describe in considerable detail the Soviet techniques of exploiting this paralysis of Western intellect, ranging from psychological intimidation, to the capture of so-called "nationalist" movements, to the macabre refinements of guerrilla warfare. All of this could be reversed, they believe, if we would recognize Communism for what it is, and press the battle into Soviet territory. They conclude by examining some of the weaknesses, particularly the disaffection of the satellite peoples, which could be exploited in a Western campaign of counter-subversion against Moscow. All of which is to the good, and if taken to heart by American leaders could assure us that Khrushchev's boasting would be written off by history as empty bombast. Indeed, to judge by the idiom the book employs, the authors seem to have shaped their message in the hope of some such official notice. The surest sign of this intention is a rather lengthy chapter framed in the jargon of Washington expertise—a plea for

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improved "integration," "co-ordination," and "implementation" of American Cold War policy. The authors offer a number of suggestions to end "fragmentation" in the development and execution of Cold War decisions, and even lay down a five-point program for getting everyone in the government to pull together in the same direction. "If the existing mechanisms of the U.S. Government were adequate to cope with the challenge," they assert, "the crisis of freedom in its present magnified form would not exist."

This is, considering the unrelieved failure of American policy abroad, too soft an impeachment by far. The central question, after all, is not the mechanism of our Cold War policy, but the content of it. It is not *how* to "implement" or "co-ordinate," but *what*. We may co-ordinate Mr. Kennan with Mr. Schlesinger, or Mr. Rostow with Mr. Bohlen, or integrate McGeorge Bundy's latest brainstorm with Ted Sorenson's, until we have fused the whole into perfect unity—and the result, obviously, will still be disaster for the United States.

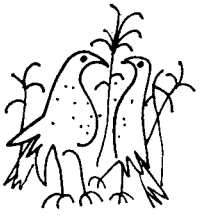
The suggestions in this chapter are of the sort one makes when a policy is mistaken in detail, but essentially correct in conception. Our problem, unfortunately, is that American policy is catastrophically wrong in its major presuppositions, and cannot be improved until these are changed—a fact which the authors, in a subsequent passage, clearly acknowledge. The crisis is not one of programming, but of people and ideas—which means that the excellent analysis laid down in this book will find little acceptance at the White House until such time as Rostow, Schlesinger & Co. are permanently exiled from it.

Fiction

Unofficial Roses

VINCENT MILLER

IRIS MURDOCH has not, so far as I know, written about Claude Mauriac and the *nouveau roman* in France—nor about Angela Thirkell or Conrad Richter—though she has about Camus and Sartre, the future of English socialism, the sublime and the beautiful, and the modern novel. She teaches philosophy at Oxford, has lectured at Yale, is considered by her students to be something of a saint, and is thought by some critics to be the foremost *avant-garde* English novelist of her generation. What is more, she is as dead set against writing traditionally serious "novels of depth" as are, in their quite different ways, Mrs. Thirkell, M. Mauriac, and Mr. Richter, whose most recent works are here—with hers—under review.



In our century traditionally "serious" novels have been, she argues, of two kinds: essentially anti-human novels of conformity, and all too painfully "human" novels of alienation and neurosis. The first, she says, have been concerned to cram the ideological conventions of some politically or sociologically or psychologically derived set of abstractions upon life and the reader, while the second have attempted to chronicle the agonies of those (in Yeats' phrase, "by Calvary's turbulence unsatisfied") who have decided to offer themselves as a sufficient sacrifice to redeem the resulting horror. Both kinds place upon humanity a strain it cannot bear, yet they remain—Miss Murdoch argues—the polarities of the modern novel, as they are of our post-Christian civilization.

It is against both that all the novelists here considered have revolted. All are, judged by the standard of the "serious" novel, deliberately superficial, refusing to probe life "to the depths" either with inhuman abstractions or through the agony of some superhuman, existential "experience." All seek to accept the comic, trivial, and touching parody that *is* man for what he is and no more; and, in this sense, all strive to re-embody an order of highly civilized, classically rooted awareness. The distance that separates the most disparate is that between an art which attempts to renew and an art which preserves, for a while, outmoded reflexes.

MRS. THIRKELL'S *Three Score and Ten* has the old cast: a group of odd individualists who live around Barset and seem to her readers to give off a whiff of what made the nineteenth-century novel great. Her heroine is a woman very much like herself, an ancient authoress who writes the same novel over again each year, getting confused as to what she has and hasn't said, but meeting the insistent demands of an audience that wishes something "Trollopian." But where the Barsetshire novels sustained those not uncomplex standards of very earnest Victorian judgment which their author shared with his audience, Mrs. Thirkell, deliberately, sustains nothing at all:

> "Now, there was a feller called Swinburne when I was a young man," said his lordship. "*I* didn't read him but my dear old mother did. He wrote some parodies, too. Don't know why he did it—came of a good family and went to the dogs at Putney. Oh well!"
>
> "But I have got his parodies, and they are very funny. And he parodied himself, too. I wish *I* could parody people. Myself perhaps and then you, George," said Mrs. Moreland.
>
> "You couldn't parody yourself, Laura," said Mrs. Coates.
>
> "But I do—every year," said Mrs. Moreland indignantly. "That's why people buy my books."

Obviously, nothing "serious" is going to happen in such a novel, which is exactly the measure of its appeal to Mrs. Thirkell's readers: it eschews all politics, all social doctrine, and all soul-searching. It is, in the sense we have become accustomed to think of the novel as "serious literature," an anti-novel, and

---

Three Score and Ten, by Angela Thirkell and C. A. Lejeune. Knopf, $4.50

The Marquise Went Out at Five, by Claude Mauriac. Braziller, $4.95

An Unofficial Rose, by Iris Murdoch. Viking, $4.95

A Simple Honorable Man, by Conrad Richter. Knopf, $4.50

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marks in its deliberate superficiality anything but the continuation of that tradition of taking the surface of life as if it were the depths, which began with Defoe and Richardson.

Mrs. Thirkell doesn't, of course, think her superficialities very important or her novels indicative of a trend. Claude Mauriac does his, though what he says is as applicable to Mrs. Thirkell's works as to his own:

> In the present as in the past [he has his hero-novelist think], the anecdotes to which my novelistic essay will be reduced will have no importance. They will nonetheless be my only certain substance. It would be cheating if I extended them until they constituted coherent and well-proportioned stories whose continuation the reader would await with impatience. There can be no denouement save an arbitrary one. Death itself is no end. Our little persons are almost nothing and our personalities still less.

The artistic devices by which Mauriac images the life that crosses and surrounds the Carrefour de Buci during a single hour of a late afternoon—and through its history since 1257—are, of course, Eliot's and Joyce's, not Trollope's. The life of the Carrefour is watched by two old men —a bibliophile whose mind is filled with the trivialities of its past, and the novelist Carnéjoux, who makes of the surfaces he observes the novel we are reading. In that novel's final pages all the characters merge into Carnéjoux, who has created all of them from the superficialities to which he has deliberately limited his observation; and he in turn is withdrawn into the mind of Mauriac. *The Marquise Went Out At Five* then ends with a passage in which "literature," in the old sense, is rejected:

> Thus the novel has in its penultimate pages gradually faded away, and disappeared, without masks or make-believe, giving way to the novelist who, if he has put himself directly into his book, has at the end purified it of its last traces of fiction by granting it a truth in which literal exactitude was preferred to literature. The Marquise did not go out at five.

MISS MURDOCH'S *An Unofficial Rose* begins with the burial of Fanny Peronett, and chronicles the reshifting of relationships subsequent to it. At the end everything is rearranged, several crises have been survived, roots have been torn up, but none of the characters is nearer to knowing himself or his situation than he was before. Miss Murdoch has taken as her *donnée* the absurd creature man, and she resists all temptation to make him a hero, to pretend to fathom his mystery or separate it from his muddle, or to let him do either for himself. What she seeks to revitalize is an attitude of mind she thinks essentially British: a tolerance which does not come to an end and is therefore capable of becoming love, a love like that of her heroine (and Mrs. Thirkell's, one might add), which suffers much, including its own parodies of understanding and significance.

That statement could describe Conrad Richter's clergyman-hero well enough. Although *A Simple Honorable Man* doesn't at all measure up to Mauriac's and Miss Murdoch's novels, its merit lies in the fact that its author has restrained—albeit incompletely—his desire to be what Mauriac would call "literary": *i.e.*, to pretend to understand and judge the souls of his characters. As his title indicates, he would somehow like to feel that his hero *is* significant in the comfortable old novelistic sense, but too much finally separates him from the childhood world he is looking back upon: he is too honest a writer in too different an age. His simple, naïve, ignorant, often embarrassingly gauche rural preacher is as unofficial a rose as Miss Murdoch's Ann; and his novel seeks to have the same kind of merit:

Random Notes

● MOVIES: Peter Ustinov has refused to prettify *Billy Budd*, the movie version of Herman Melville's last novel, which he produced and directed for Warner-Pathé, and the distribution of the film has been taken over by Rank, who will accept it without changes. The premieres will be in London and New York late in September; the tickets will be expensive; and general distribution will follow in about six months. . . . *Variety* reports that Samuel Beckett's mime, "Act without Words," is to be filmed by Gene Kelly and Bill Kozlenko. E. S. Carpenter, who has film and television rights to the piece (a traditional clown's "turn" with Beckett's magic added), will be co-producer.

● BOOKS: New World Books, the paperback department of International Publishers (New York, founded 1924), will begin publishing this fall a series of Marxist rigmarole (on "history, philosophy, economics, world affairs, etc."). Twenty new titles by 1963. Ho hum. Thoreau's notebooks have been out-of-print for forty-five years now; Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, 107 years; Van Buren's *Autobiography*, fifty years. . . . Among the new books: *Mother and Son: The Wartime Correspondence of Isoko and Ichiro Hatano* (Houghton, $3.75). This exchange of letters (1944-47) has become a classic in Japan and France. . . . Michael Hamburger's and Christopher Middleton's *Modern German Poetry 1910-1960* (Grove, $6.50) translates into verse a rich and extensive selection of Expressionist poets. German texts facing. Both translators are poets in their own right, and this work is a careful, inspired labor of many years' preparation. . . . *The Poor Rockefellers* by John W. Rockefeller Jr. (Vanguard, $4.50) is a bemused account of the side of the family that remained modestly well-to-do. A period piece with candy-striped blazers and Asbury Park, 1910. . . . One of the real bargains for September: H. G. Wells' *The Invisible Man* and *The War of the Worlds*, bound together for 45¢ (Washington Square Press). . . . Popular Library has made Louis Aragon's *Holy Week* available for 75¢.

● THE STAGE: The German version of *Take Her, She's Mine* will be titled *One Should Have Sons*. . . . Dame Sybil Thorndike, 80, grand lady of the English stage, will do her first dancing role in November as Crawford the governess in *Vanity Fair*, Julian Slade's musical. A waltz, of course.

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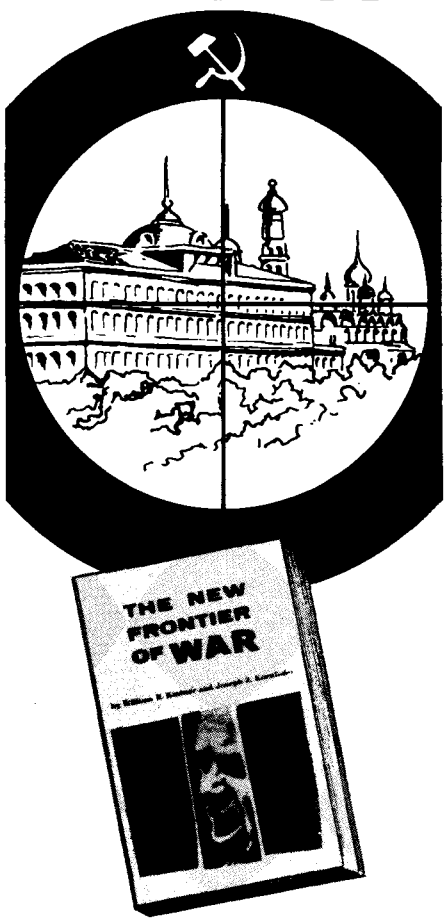

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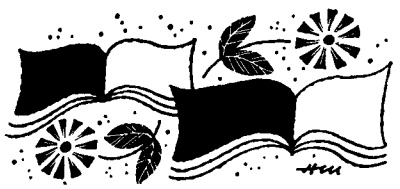
that its central character embody, in the midst of the human superficiality of which he partakes, a way of life its author finds valid.

For many, the absence of romantic agony in these novels will in itself argue a failure: that there is no possibility of finding in such unofficial roses —if you take them this way—what Dante found. The failure lies elsewhere. If there is nothing here that comes within a light-year of the last pages of *Finnegans Wake* (which was written from much the same set of assumptions, indeed helped create them), it is not that there is no romantic hero agonizing over human triviality: Joyce got rid of him at the outset, as he did of political and psychological abstractions. The failure lies in the nature of the triviality mirrored. What Miss Murdoch and Mrs. Thirkell find at the heart of things is not so much man's comically and pathetically superficial grasp of his human predicament, as it is an old literary cliché — "English muddle" taken as the sweet mystery of life. And when at the end of *The Marquise Went Out At Five* the rains come, restoring life to the old Carrefour, the bibliophile rolls another cigarette and returns to his triviality in a way Joyce would find—for he too had read his Eliot — superficially "literary," like almost everything else in the novel. The same might be said — though the techniques and attitudes are more diffusely derivative—of Richter's attempt to tag Harry Donner as "a simple honorable man." All four of these authors have, in fact, limited themselves to the surface, not of life, but of literature—and only Mrs. Thirkell seems to have been aware of how finally superficial the results of such a choice are, highbrow or low.



Corrosion of a Myth

WILLIAM A. RUSHER

As a source of analytical literature, the Sacco-Vanzetti case will never surpass the American Civil War; the yield and further potential of that literary Mesabi make its preeminence secure. What happened on a street in South Braintree, Massachusetts, on April 15, 1920, or even in the ensuing seven years of trials, appeals and popular protests, can never furnish forth a belletristic feast to compare with the death struggle of the Blue and the Gray.

Tragedy in Dedham: The Story of the Sacco-Vanzetti Case, by Francis Russell. McGraw-Hill, $7.95

And yet, every so often, another writer immerses himself in the famous controversy and comes up with a brand-new book. Just two years ago, Robert Montgomery's *Sacco-Vanzetti: The Murder and the Myth* (*NR*, Sept. 24, 1960) painstakingly reviewed the evidence and the principal canards, and made the guilt of the defendants clear beyond the well-known reasonable doubt. But no one familiar with the passions stirred up by the case—let alone with the eminent reputations staked, across the years, on the defendants' innocence—supposed that Montgomery's book had really settled anything.

So, if there had to be another book about this grand old flap, let us be grateful that Francis Russell wrote it. He is well known to *NR* readers as a matchless interpreter of Boston and its cultural hinterland; he can make Scollay Square sound as romantic as the Roman Forum by moonlight. In his hands, the familiar old materials spring to life in sharp detail and faithful color: the savage violence of the April 15 payroll murders; the deeply incriminating circumstances of the two anarchists' arrest on May 5—Vanzetti sporting a revolver exactly like the missing gun of the dead guard Berardelli, and Sacco carrying a pistol and six loose bullets of the same rare type as the fatal one in Berardelli's body; the trial before thin-lipped Judge Webster Thayer; the growing tension between the Back Bay bluebloods who defended the verdict and the passionate

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Italo-Americans, woozy idealists and cynical Communists who denounced it as a frame-up; the appeals, the riots here and abroad, and finally the executions, in August 1927, in grim old Charlestown prison.

As luck would have it, Sacco and Vanzetti were brought to trial scant years before advances in the science of ballistics made Sacco's guilt as certain as such things can be. Before they were executed, however, Major Calvin Goddard—using a newly-perfected comparison microscope—had concluded unequivocally that "the so-called 'fatal' bullet . . . was fired through the Sacco pistol and could have been fired through no other." Nevertheless, the enterprising Mr. Russell, knowing that doubt had been cast upon Major Goddard's impartiality and (in a later, unconnected case) on his accuracy, insisted upon a further test. After many delays, a new series of ballistic tests was conducted with Sacco's pistol on October 11, 1961. The cold verdict of science remained unchanged: "beyond dispute," the fatal bullet had been fired from that pistol.

In these dismayingly unambiguous circumstances, it is not surprising that sophisticated Liberal opinion is slowly shifting to an emphasis on the possibility that Vanzetti was innocent, though Sacco was guilty. Certainly some formidable authorities seem to have held this view. In 1951 Upton Sinclair revealed that Fred Moore, the defendants' trial attorney (he was later dismissed) had told him in 1927 that Sacco was definitely guilty but Vanzetti only "possibly" so. And, writing in NATIONAL REVIEW in 1961, Max Eastman added a valuable footnote to history by reporting that Carlo Tresca, the anarchist leader who mobilized the defense, had told him in 1934: "Sacco was guilty but Vanzetti was not."

It should be noted at once, however, that there is considerable damaging evidence against Vanzetti personally. If Sacco was in fact guilty, what are the odds that Vanzetti—arrested while traveling with him, and carrying a gun indistinguishable from the missing weapon of one of the victims—was innocent? And if innocent, why did Vanzetti, in that highly compromising situation, lie repeatedly about the circumstances under which he had acquired the gun? These are fair questions, and they are not rendered less pressing by the irrelevant datum that our Liberal friends, after forty years of mulish resistance, are at last ready to be sensible about Nicola Sacco.

BUT LET US go with them the extra mile, and assume that Vanzetti was innocent. We must suppose that, knowing the facts, he chose to go to the electric chair rather than conduct a separate defense with a substantially better chance of acquittal. (When Moore asked Vanzetti whether he could argue independently for Vanzetti's acquittal, the latter reportedly answered, "Save Nick, he has the woman and child.") Such self-abnegation, especially among persons aspiring to political martyrdom, is not entirely unknown—as witness the perhaps parallel case of the atomic spies Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, who spurned an offer to commute their death sentences if they would confess, and went to the chair in 1953 as their final contribution to a Communist psywar campaign to whip up international sympathy for them. But this hypothesis, if we adopt it, makes criticism of the Dedham trial and Vanzetti's execution almost impossibly difficult. Human laws and legal procedures are fallible things at best; we can hardly expect them to protect men who connive at their own conviction.

Mr. Russell—wisely, I think—avoids getting bogged down in such chancy esoterica. He simply presents the story as it happened, in rich detail and with a sensitive eye for the significant. His own conclusion—that Vanzetti was innocent, but Sacco guilty—may not entirely accord with that of the jury, but it is certainly a country mile ahead of the blind and ritualistic mythology that has paralyzed Liberal thinking on the subject for forty years.

Personally I suspect that the verdict of history will have to be postponed until time has removed from the scene some of the towering public figures who are still firmly cemented to the proposition that Sacco and Vanzetti were both innocent. Perhaps when the illustrious Felix Frankfurter (who, as a law professor at Harvard, noisily and effectively espoused the defendants' cause) has at last been gathered to his fathers, those who survive may finally be able to sit down and talk sensibly about Sacco and Vanzetti.

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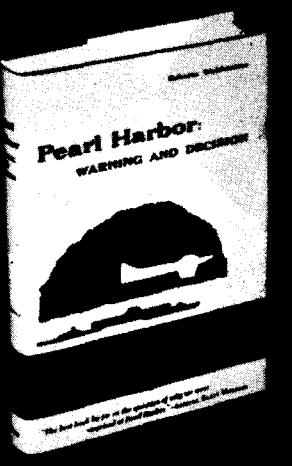

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Roberta Wohlstetter

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Movies

Petronius Redivivus

FRANCIS RUSSELL

On that particularly sultry evening the twin purple-white searchlight beams scampered across the low-ceilinged sky like a pair of wanton legs. Their jointure, drawing the crowds like moths, was Boston's New Capri Theater, opening for the first time with this celestial display for its showing of *Lolita*. "The Picture They Said Couldn't Be Made!" read the elongated sign on the searchlight platform. And the queues stretched for blocks and blocks from the box office along Huntington Avenue in both directions, east almost to the Public Library, west into the shadow of the Christian Science Mother Church.

Professor Harry Levin has seen the fictional Lolita as a reverse Daisy Miller, while as astute a critic as Cyril Connolly—whose *Rock Pool* is itself a minor classic of degeneracy—called the book the most tender love story of our time. Perhaps indeed it does compound our time-spirit, this porno-picaresque account of a middle-aged satyr in his pursuit and conquest of a mindless twelve-year-old nymphet. Perhaps the normal pull of the man toward the woman fails to carry interest any more. In so many ways the parallel between our age and our country, and the later Roman Empire, becomes apparent.

It might have been noticed that *Lolita* is merely *The Satyricon* in modern dress. Nabokov in his novel managed the *tour de force* of transposing Petronius. His parallel is brilliantly deliberate. Eumolpus becomes Humbert Humbert, Ascyltus is of course Quilty, and the curly-haired Giton changes his sex to Lolita. Curiously enough, one American publisher on reading the *Lolita* manuscript suggested to Nabokov that Lolita be rewritten into a boy!

The sweaty lines converging on the Capri were not interested in Nabokov's parallels. They had never heard of Professor Levin just across the river, of Cyril Connolly across the ocean, or of *The Satyricon*. What drew them was the hope of seeing, in as much lubricious detail as could be slipped by the board, the love-play of a man and a child. Looking at them in their patient sheep queues—there would not be seats enough for half of them—I couldn't help but think again of the Petronius pattern. Their impulse was that of Quartilla's rout, eager to peek through the cracks in the door while Giton violated the little girl Panychis.

I expect the audience trudging out of the Capri was disappointed, for the film is (by necessity) more normal than the book, and the love scenes are merely indicated. Sue Lyon, who plays Lolita, is said to be fourteen years old, but she looks a good seventeen. It might be ill-advised but certainly would not be too extraordinary for a middle-aged man at loose ends to fall in love with her. She *is* the high school girl, a distillation of those who clutter up suburban libraries evenings to flirt behind the encyclopedias while pretending to do homework. Every mannerism is taken off perfectly, from the accent to the explosion of bubble gum. Whether Miss Lyon is capable of playing any other role than that of the obnoxiously precocious teen-ager remains to be seen—I had the feeling that here she was playing herself.

For all the lurid réclame, *Lolita* is a convincing picture. So, one feels, it might really have happened—as I, at least, never felt about the book. On the minus side, Shelley Winters is atrociously miscast as Lolita's mother—not that she is responsible for her appallingly "cute" lines. Since Nabokov wrote the scenario, I am surprised at him. James Mason as Humbert Humbert is just another Rommel-on-the rocks. (We saw you, James; come back with that field marshal's baton!) Peter Sellers as Quilty is the man who runs away with the picture, the cast, the scenario and everything else. His is a superb performance, a joy to watch. Somehow he manages to evoke the true comic spirit of Petronius where Nabokov failed to. Extraordinary,

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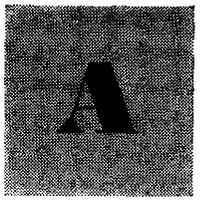

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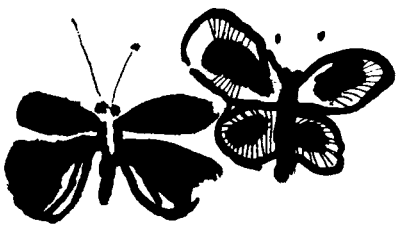
too, is his complete success in imitating the American accent, a far more exacting accomplishment than for American actors to bleat like the BBC. Tape recorders and determination are not enough—as the supporting actors painfully demonstrate in their attempts to "Yank." It takes the true instinct, such as Sellers'. I should almost be willing to see *Lolita* again just to watch him.



For reasons inexplicable to me, though probably concerned with taxes, *Lolita* was filmed in England. But even with long stretches of the American highway barrens dubbed in, nothing in the most selective camera can make old Hampshire look like New Hampshire, any more than it can make a Wimbledon villa look like a New England colonial. As for the plumbing, even an Eskimo would recognize the products of Messrs. Crapper as inimitably English. And the expedient of putting an RFD box in front of the last of a row of Manchester semi-detacheds does not thereby transform the area into an American slum. Except for these implausible details, I felt *Lolita* was a picture worth going to; although, remove Sue Lyon and Peter Sellers, and there would be little enough left but somewhat inappropriate scenery. I expect, though, it would take 16mm stag films imported from Mexico to satisfy the expectant queues. Maybe we'll get them in another ten years, the way things are going.

Theater

Repertory in New York

R. BRUCE MOODY

THE MOST significant event of this past New York season for theater-goers and professionals alike was the appearance, for a brief seven weeks at an off-Broadway playhouse, of an American repertory company called APA, Association of Producing Artists. Neither the Old Vic, The Greek Tragedy Theater nor the Royal Swedish Theater caused such a stir as greeted the APA's short sojourn here. The company was founded two-and-a-half years ago by its director, Ellis Rabb, and his wife, the beautiful and brilliant Rosemary Harris. Around her he has drawn a company of first-rate talent, which includes George Grizzard, Gerry Jedd, Nancy Marchand, Will Geer, Earl Montgomery and Joanna Roos. Their season was shortened by the departure of Rosemary Harris for England where she is to co-star with Olivier in an Elizabethan cycle. In the autumn she will rejoin APA at Ann Arbor, where APA has been hired as the professional company in residence at the University of Michigan. Next spring, New York.

Rosemary Harris' immense versatility is the pivot of APA. Her performances are of the highest professional level, warm, graceful, full of humor and a most ingratiating artistry. Page Johnson, as a BVD-bedecked hick in George M. Cohan's *The Tavern*, leering, threatening, sticking out his tongue, is a rough diamond of farcical histrionics, from his unshaven cheeks to his bowed, bony knees. Nancy Marchand as the selfish and ageing Arkadina in Chekhov's *The Seagull* illuminates the stage with stroke after stroke of genius, a performance of exquisite detail and miraculously appropriate idiosyncrasy. Joanna Roos as Pauline in the same play seizes the flower given to her lover, Dr. Dorn, by Nina, shreds it in bits, hurls it in the air and stalks off with the total self-composure of the totally self-righteous. Clayton Corzatte as Charles Surface in *The School for Scandal*, all in gold, licks his chops with a comic heartlessness as he auctions off his family portraits in a pearly tenor which the dissipation that has brought the auction about has not touched.

The three comedies are widely diverse in temper. *The Seagull* is one of the first masterpieces of the theater of the absurd, as *The Tavern* is one of the last masterpieces of the theater of old-time melodrama—or, perhaps, it is the masterpiece after the last, for Cohan has tipped the "melerdramer" over the cliff right into a roaring farce, a milieu in which only lunatics and madwomen are properly at home. The least successful comedy of the three is *The School for Scandal*, jolted by an unexpected failure of style. Everything should be played above the waist and is played instead only at eye level; the play must posture, pose and preen before its pratfalls are funny. But, nevertheless, the verve, warmth, expertise and hilarity of the proceedings are such that nothing need be forgiven.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

DEATHS FOR THE LADIES, AND OTHER DISASTERS, by Norman Mailer (Putnam, $4 cloth, $1.95 paper). Two hundred and fifty pages here? Probably. They are not so much as numbered, so relentlessly does chastity assert itself. Sample left-hand page:

What's authority
Depriving you
of, Mr M?

Facing page, very low down:

Depravity.

Before long, the snow-blind reader has gathered that Mr M despises above all the literary game, by way of revenge on which he has exacted, perhaps at knife point, from a firm of business men their agreement to manufacture a book containing chiefly blank paper, and on its behalf carry out, with sinking hearts, blushing cheeks, churning stomachs, all the tomfoolery of marketing, promoting, distributing, invoicing, accounting and presumably remaindering. For, as he notes at one point,

A writer who
has power
should use it
to extract
such benefits
from his
publisher
as
give
his
words
room
to
breathe

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The chief function of the words, on the other hand, is to compel the expenditure of more and yet more paper ($350 the ton). But Putnam may yet come out on top. "This book or parts thereof," their legal department meaningfully serves note, "must not be reproduced in any form without permission." If they can make that stick, the exercise book market will have changed masters, without a share being sold or a shot fired. H. KENNER

THE BUREAUCRAT'S COLORING BOOK by Francesca Knight and Lois Roberts (Athene Press, $1.25). I like this coloring book. I want to make one, too. It will be all about Jack and Jackie and their girl friends and boy friends. Color them pink. Deep pink. Jack is running. Run Jack run. Bobby is running. Teddy is running. Caroline is too little to run. Look! There is Mr. Khrushchev. Jack is going to play with Mr. Khrushchev. They are playing Countries. See how many countries Jack is giving to Mr. Khrushchev. There is mean old Mr. Blough. He is a businessman. He is a son of a bitch. N. MCCAFFREY

CONFLICT, by Robert Leckie (Putnam, $6.95); STRONG MEN ARMED, by Robert Leckie (Random, $7.95). It is unusual for an author to bring out two large books the same season, especially when both are, on the whole, very well done. *Conflict* is the better of the two, largely because it is one of the few books to give an over-all view of the Korean War. *Strong Men Armed,* the story of the U.S. Marines' war against Japan, is a labor of love for ex-Marine Leckie, but it is far from the best book on the subject. Those who like semi-popular history should enjoy both, even though Leckie betrays a strange mental dichotomy when it comes to political assessment. The Japs are the same old bad guys we remember from the war days, and quite worthy of unconditional extermination; the Communists are different. In the author's orthodox Liberal eyes, MacArthur's "no substitute for victory" was magnificent for the glorious crusade against Japan, but out of place in Korea, where Larger Issues had to be considered. J. P. MC FADDEN

To the Editor

Supreme Court v. *Prayer*

NATIONAL REVIEW has done well to remind us that the Supreme Court's June 25 decision in the New York school prayer case was "a revolutionary, not a constitutional act." It is the most recent development in a constitutional crisis which broke into the open with the school desegregation decision of May 1954.

The constitutional significance of the '54 ruling escaped most of the American public thanks to a widespread sympathy for the Negro cause generated by years of massive and intensive propaganda on the subject before and after 1954. Again, the Supreme Court decision of March 26, 1962, in the Tennessee legislature reapportionment case, failed to make its impact on the public because of the prosaic nature of legislative district layout. Today, however, the Establishment of the Left finds itself unexpectedly embarrassed by the school prayer decree, since the mass communications media have had (or have taken) no opportunity to soften up the public mind for the Court's surprising decision. And the problem this time is sufficiently simple and sensational to excite general interest and indignation.

For these reasons, then, the few scattered cranks who wish to preserve constitutional government in the United States now have a unique though fleeting chance to strike back at the Supreme Court and compel it to pull in its horns.

Since the Court has strayed—or rampaged—beyond the confines of constitutional action, it may be said to have created a constitutional, or rather a revolutionary, crisis. In these circumstances, the community can hardly be held liable to obey what is now, in fact, an outlaw Court. And opposition through civil disobedience seems the indicated course—unless we support the "radical Right" in its call for the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Pending adoption of the proposed Religious Freedom Amendment to the Constitution, then, why should not the New York school authorities order retention of the prohibited prayer? We could then determine how the Executive would enforce the Supreme Court's illegal order. Would the Administration cut off federal funds assigned to New York State for educational (and other) purposes? Or would President Kennedy follow his predecessor's example of the September Days at Little Rock and order armed troops into school buildings to quell the prayers? (If the White House adopts the latter course, we shall have at least the assurance that the quality of mercy is strong in Mr. Kennedy's heart and that casualties would undoubtedly be held to a minimum if the soldiers were forced to fire.)

The test of disobedience would enable us to gauge the depth of the civil crisis in the midst of which America's constitutional order is dissolving. During the remaining six-and-a-half years of the Kennedy Administration, there will probably be relatively little we can do to check the development of totalitarian government in Washington. We shall, however, through repeated passive disobedience, be able to ascertain from time to time the progress of our constitutional decay—and this, after all, should prove an interesting and perhaps ultimately useful probing.

J. D. FUTCH III
Baltimore Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1962

In view of the recent Supreme Court school prayer ban, may I suggest that, the first thing every morning, teachers asks students for examples of prayers that are no longer allowed to be recited in the classrooms.

Newton, Mass JOHN L. ZAZZERA

Some schools have prescribed a minute of silent prayer each morning.—ED.

Rally

I do not think that the conservative movement in America is so weak that it cannot tolerate some fairly wide range of opinion; I do not think that it is so strong that it can afford not to tolerate it. There are a couple of things in the July 3 *NR* that must have made the Liberals rejoice. On page 469, the Lyons-to-Forster letter involves an indirect shot at the Birchers. On page 485, Russell Kirk accuses

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Ayn Rand of being "thoroughly opposed . . . to the great traditions of our civilization."

The Birchers are blamed for being too quick to brand various people as conscious Communists. It seems to me that if we have learned anything over the course of the last decade, it is that neither *NR* nor the Birch Society can tell for sure exactly who is involved (and to what extent) in the Communist conspiracy without having the keys to Khrushchev's bedroom bureau.

Ayn Rand has come upon the same economic and political conclusions as the *NR*-type conservatives. She is an atheist because she feels that what is good in man is independent of a God. She has never shown any inclination to enforce her atheism with a bayonet, and I think that our Constitution of the United States, with its guarantee of religious freedom, indicates that an Ayn Rand and a William F. Buckley Jr. ought to be able to cooperate effectively in a struggle against such a thing as Communism. If Christianity is everything that it is cracked up to be, it will be able to completely K-O Miss Rand's atheism in a fine, extensive exchange of views, LATER.

Lyndhurst, N.J. F. HURLEY, JR.

Morgan Meets the Eye

As a card-carrying union man, I'm not going to identify myself and get in the black books of Edward P. Morgan, the newscaster who is in the AFL-CIO employ. But I suggest that you have a look at the reprint on the editorial page, column 8, of the *Washington Post* of July 26, 1962, of one of Edward P. Morgan's recent commentaries. As the horny-handed son of toil he is, Mr. Morgan has a lot of fun with a recent piece in the July *Vogue*, illustrated, showing the foibles of the wealthy and how they live. It is a nicely done bit of satirical writing, as befits one of us almost-common laborers. Then I suggest you have a look at the July issue of *House and Garden*, which shows how the social elite of Washington live. You will note a full page photo, in color, of the entrance way of the lovely home of Mr. Edward P. Morgan in McLean, Va. Turn a little further and you will find in the "Washington Cookbook" section, under Mrs. Edward P. Morgan's name, some data about their beautiful home "and pool," together with chit-chat about how the Morgans entertain their guests, together with a sample menu of the viands they serve. Few hod-carriers and steam-fitters entertain so lavishly, particularly at pool-side. I believe you will enjoy the two pieces. If you do anything on the subject, please forget that you even got a tip from Washington. I call this to your attention because I admire you gentlemen and your publication.

Washington, D.C. NAME WITHHELD

Defender Defended

Faut-il brûler Edward Bennett Williams? Indeed *no*, Mr. Buckley. The article (July 31) was just fine, all except Section III. In that section you make it seem as if you are for finding certain men guilty before they are brought to trial, for the very reason that they in fact should be given every break: that they look, to all the world, guilty as sin. Yes, even Jimmy Hoffa. He may look like a punk, but that surely is no reason to bar him from a fair trial. Certainly, Walter Reuther—whose official status as a Sacred Cow renders him immune to investigation—is a more harmful element of our society than is Jimmy. Whatever their kooky ideas and motives may be, let us be grateful that we have brilliantly effective lawyers like Williams, and Clarence Darrow before him, to defend hopeless cases. Their philosophy may be ridiculous, but they do serve admirably to keep innocent (and some guilty) men out of jail. But then: "It is better that ten guilty men go free than that one innocent man be hanged." That is the tradition of Anglo-Saxon justice—and a good one.

Chanute AFB, Ill. LT. ALAN A. KEITH

Agreed, and so stated in the article. Our point was that EBW, in his zeal to protect the single defendant, ignores the greater problem of protecting the collective victim, namely, the body of law-abiding citizens who cannot hope to hire the gall and tongue of such as EBW. —ED.

Memo to Prof. Kenner

Appreciative thanks for the lovely little poem in French (July 17). Words can be translated fairly well but the unique and subtle graces of the *Language*, Itself—never.

Los Angeles, Calif. YVONNE ROBINSON

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Brown v. *Board of Elections*

As one of over 50,000 finger-and-feet-blistered, conservative-thinking voters, I take exception to Aaron H. Brown's over-all labeling that we "Don't Have the Bodies" (August 14). It was quite apparent Mr. Brown hasn't peeped over the Rocky Mountains lately to the third-largest state in the Union. In California we walked and went without lunch and sleep to ring doorbells: we filed over one million signatures for an initiative constitutional amendment to outlaw the Communist Party and control subversion in the State of California. Now on the November ballot, it's known as Proposition 24, the Louis Francis Amendment. This was the first time in the history of this state or any other that grass-roots voters, inexperienced, unfinanced, not organized to any extent, placed an initiative measure on the ballot!

Carmel, Cal. MRS. K. M. KARYE

Aaron Brown's article on the importance of working in primaries performs a needed service. Conservatives must realize that the forums, seminars, and lectures they attend as well as the books, magazines, and papers they read, have little practical effect on policy. There can be no substitute for putting the right men into public office. The work involved in political campaigns is grueling and thankless. NATIONAL REVIEW would increase its usefulness to conservatism if it would print more material on the practical implementation of principle. Conservatives who are really serious about the nation's future will put every effort into working within the party structure.

Brooklyn, N.Y. DENIS KILLEEN

1 Down, 8 to Go

During the election campaign of 1960 some of my friends were quite critical because I said that it might be a good thing if Kennedy won, by the narrowest of margins. I voted for Mr. Nixon, reluctantly, as a gesture of thanks for his work in the Hiss affair. This was the only reason I could find which was not sickening. I did not believe that the nation could afford the two hundred and twenty promises made by Mr. Kennedy. A renovator without money, I said, is hardly a threat to anyone except himself. So we got Mr. Kennedy, and it could be I had a good idea for the wrong reasons. Lack of money seems not to have stopped him; lack of maturity will do as well. This brash young man is fast becoming the agent of his own disappearance: Houdini in the House, white with rage, trembling with righteous malevolence, common to those who are spoiled rotten. . . .

More power to the coalition, meaning less power to Mr. Kennedy. May he persist in his chowder-headed convictions that what is good for him is good for the rest of the human race. Petulant and arrogant as he is, using random guesses and chance conclusions, this ambivalent Quixote is doing us a favor. He is exposing the whole sorry adventure, from Roosevelt to Rosinante. Let us encourage him. A few more months of proposing, opposing, mixed with rage and umbrage, might well send him and the whole clan back to Massachusetts, not merely to maintain a fictitious residence, but to live and learn.

St. Petersburg, Fla. ROBERT J. NEEDLES

Catholics v. *Nazis*

The Rev. Fr. Brooke Walker in your issue of July 17 was questioning Will Herberg's statement of June 19 (which was absolutely correct), that the Catholic Church said "no" to Hitler on the strength of natural law. He refers to a book by Gordon Zahn, but apparently is not aware of the review of this book, so devastating for the author, by as competent a critic as Father Robert A. Graham, S.J. in *America* magazine. Zahn is a pacifist and was a conscientious objector during World War II. His charge that the German Catholics supported Hitler's wars is simply preposterous and is contradicted by the record, if this record is not twisted and distorted, as it is by the professional German-baiters now unfortunately engaged in a campaign which only profits the Communists. The German Catholic Bishops took a strong stand against Nazism from the earliest days. All the evidence available, notably the diaries of ill-famed Nazi propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels, offers ample proof that the Nazi leaders themselves considered the attitude of German Catholics during the war as "treasonable." If the German Catholics, as Zahn pretends, supported Hitler's wars, why then were thousands of them thrown into concentration camps and even murdered in cold blood, and their press totally suppressed? Zahn's bias is obvious throughout his book, and he fails to

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understand the abnormal circumstances prevailing under a political tyranny. Of course, there can be no argument with pacifists who confuse legitimate patriotism with nationalism. Rather than arriving at sweeping generalizations and simplifications of the issues at stake, Zahn should have been satisfied with his own statement that "resistance on the part of the Catholic Church in Nazi Germany . . . was truly heroic." As for conscientious objection, does the Reverend Walker realize how complex this problem is under totalitarian regimes? The recent review of Zahn's book in *The Wanderer* should enlighten him on this score.

Beuron, Germany PLACID JORDAN, O.S.B.

Kindly permit me to refute the assertion (p. 39, July 17) that "the Roman hierarchy went all-out in support of the Nazi war effort." The highest Catholic hierarch in Hitler's Germany was Cardinal Faulhaber who advocated separation of Church and (Hitler's) State—presumably because he preferred the Church's rather than Hitler's concepts of God and godly, of right and wrong, of good and evil, peace and war.

Rotterdam, Holland S. D. ABRAMOFF

Food v. Mao

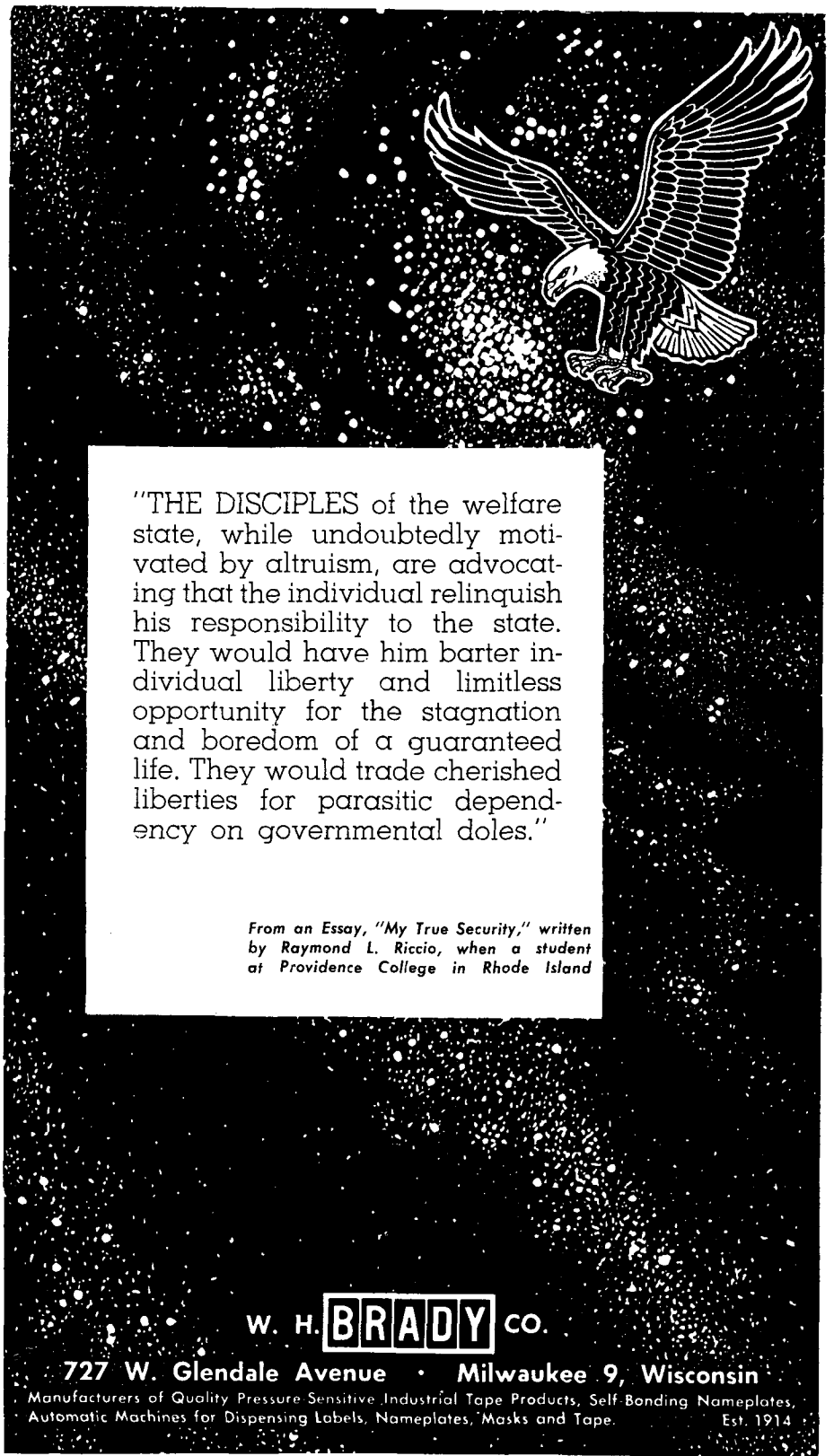
I found the article "Food for Red China" (July 13) by Rodney Gilbert most informative and enlightening. The idea of the Free Chinese actually penetrating Red China with their planes and dropping food and anti-Communist propaganda "direct to the people" must indeed be embarrassing to Mao and his army. This is the type of program for which Americans everywhere should rally. If Washington won't support such a program, why can't we the people?

San Antonio, Texas ROY L. ION

Funds for All

In "UN Bear Market" (June 19): "The special accounts have been drained of their cash balance. . . ." I wish again to say that the Acting Secretary General has on no occasion borrowed from the funds of UNICEF which were in UNICEF accounts. The Acting Secretary General did, however, have use of $10 million intended eventually for UNICEF. . . . I hope you will keep this as a part of your record so that a similar mistake will not be made again.

New York City C. LLOYD BAILEY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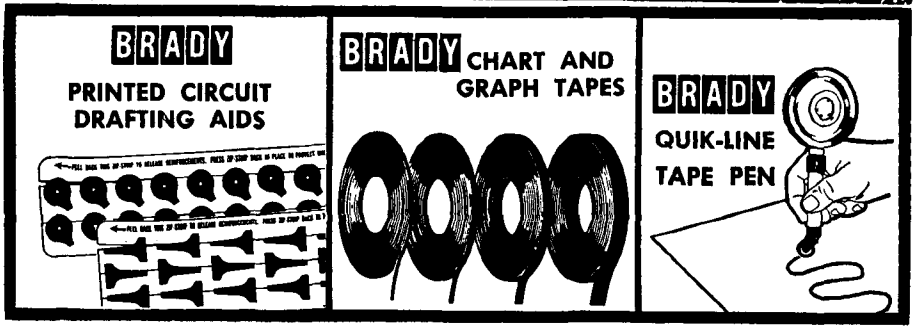

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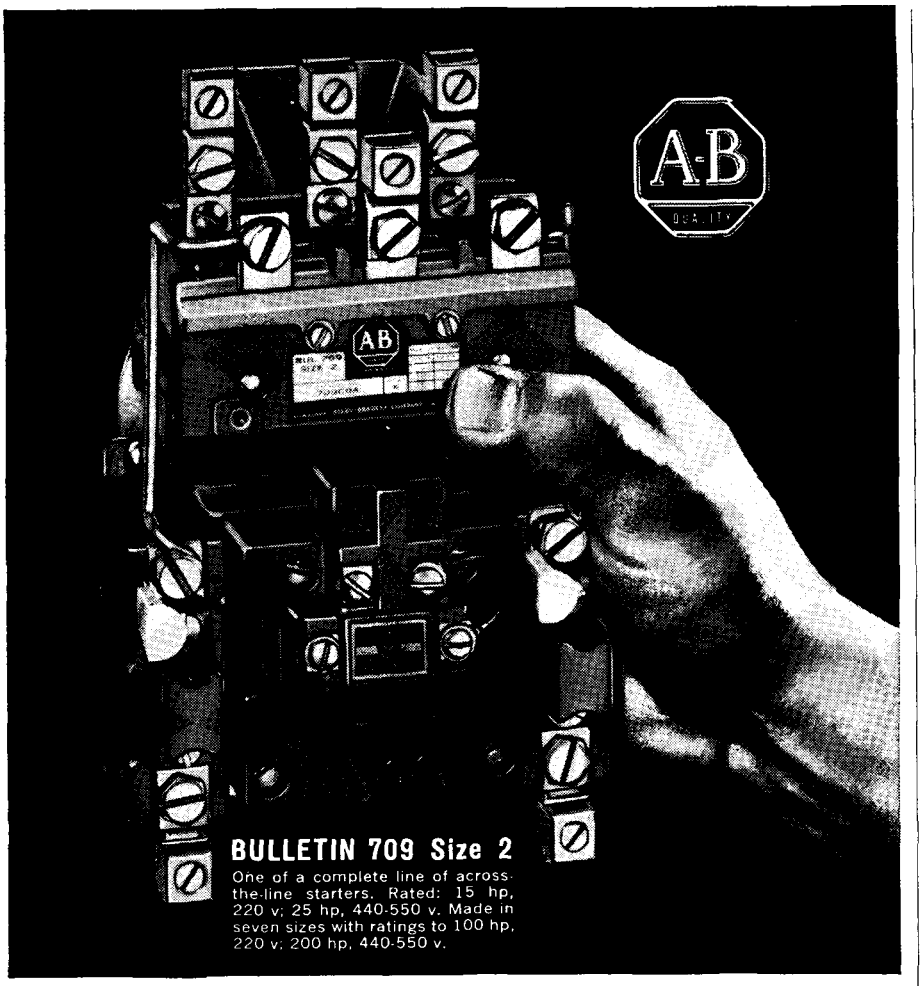
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L. Brent Bozell

(Continued from p. 187)

it hope to bring about a different result the second time around? Should it come to power, can it promise anything but a Custer's Last Stand against the final engulfment?

These misgivings may be put otherwise. I have written elsewhere that the root reason Liberalism cannot do battle against Communism is that it is neurotically committed, by its philosophical premises, to the victory of its enemy. Since both Liberalism and Communism, as Eric Voegelin has pointed out, are expressions of the gnostic heresy that the salvation of man and of society can be accomplished on this earth, there is no effective answer Liberals can give, other than their emotional scruples, to the Communist discovery that the earthly paradise is to be realized, not by changing society, but by changing man.

While the libertarian disability comes from a different source, it is, I fear, no less crippling. For what the freedom-first people fail to understand is that the Communist proposal to "change man" is an answer to a problem *they* have created. *The Communist answer is to give man a nature, and thus a purpose outside of himself*—exactly the thing that six hundred years of Western "progress" have progressively denied him. Communist "nature," which sees man as destined for absorption by society as the penultimate step in the grand march to an Earthly Eden is, of course, a monstrous perversion of truth. But there it is: *some* purpose, *some* hope—where, with the rejection of the Christian ideal of "absorption" in God, there was no purpose and no hope. The worldwide rush to Communism in all of its forms—and "rush" it is when you think of the manifest baseness of the thing—can only be explained in terms of man's longing for a "center," and his willingness to reach for the only one presently in sight.

The differences within the conservative dialogue, as Meyer has said, are matters of "emphasis." But emphasis can be the difference between up and down. The story of how the free society has come to take priority over the good society is the story of the decline of the West.

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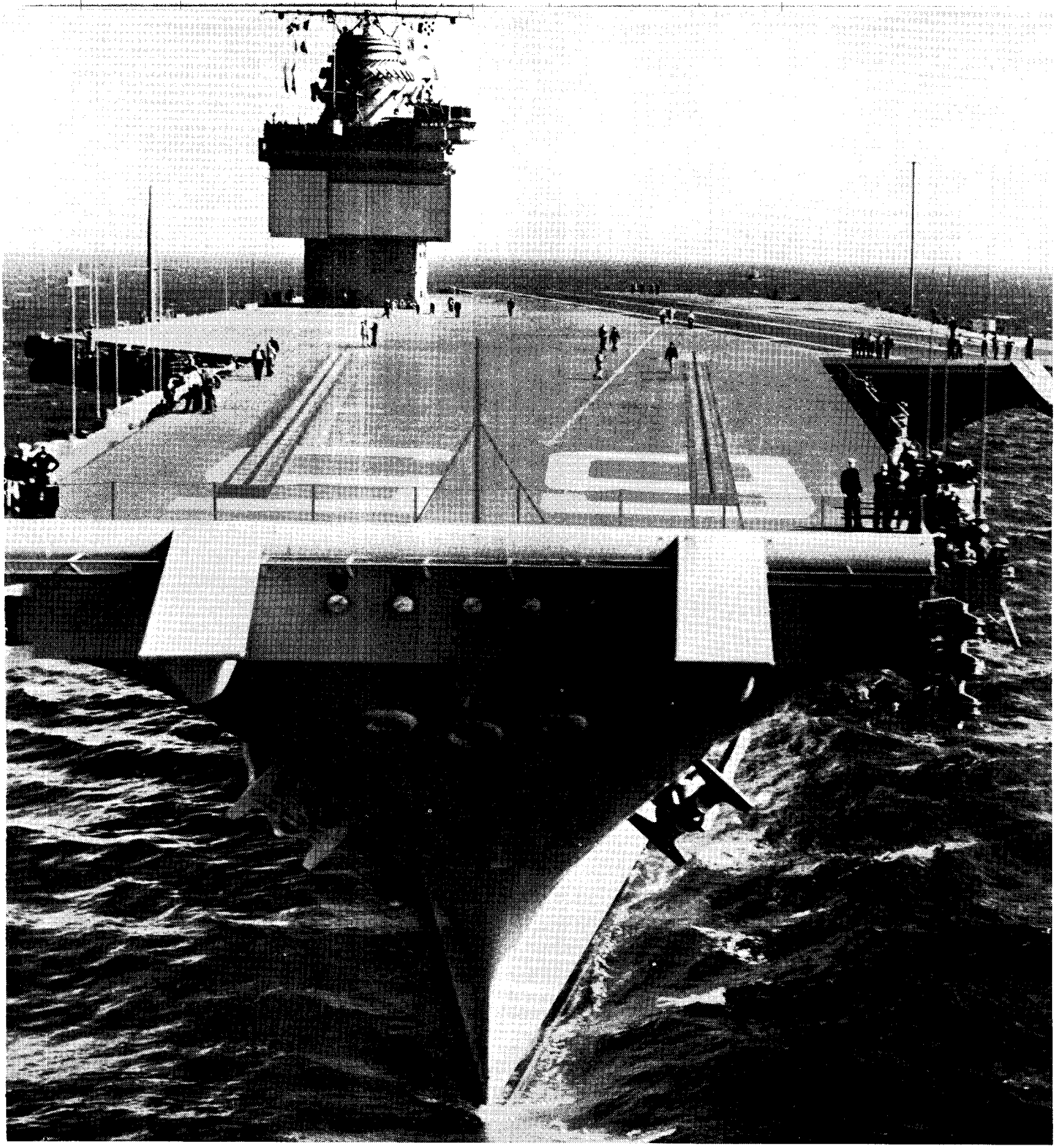

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